reason

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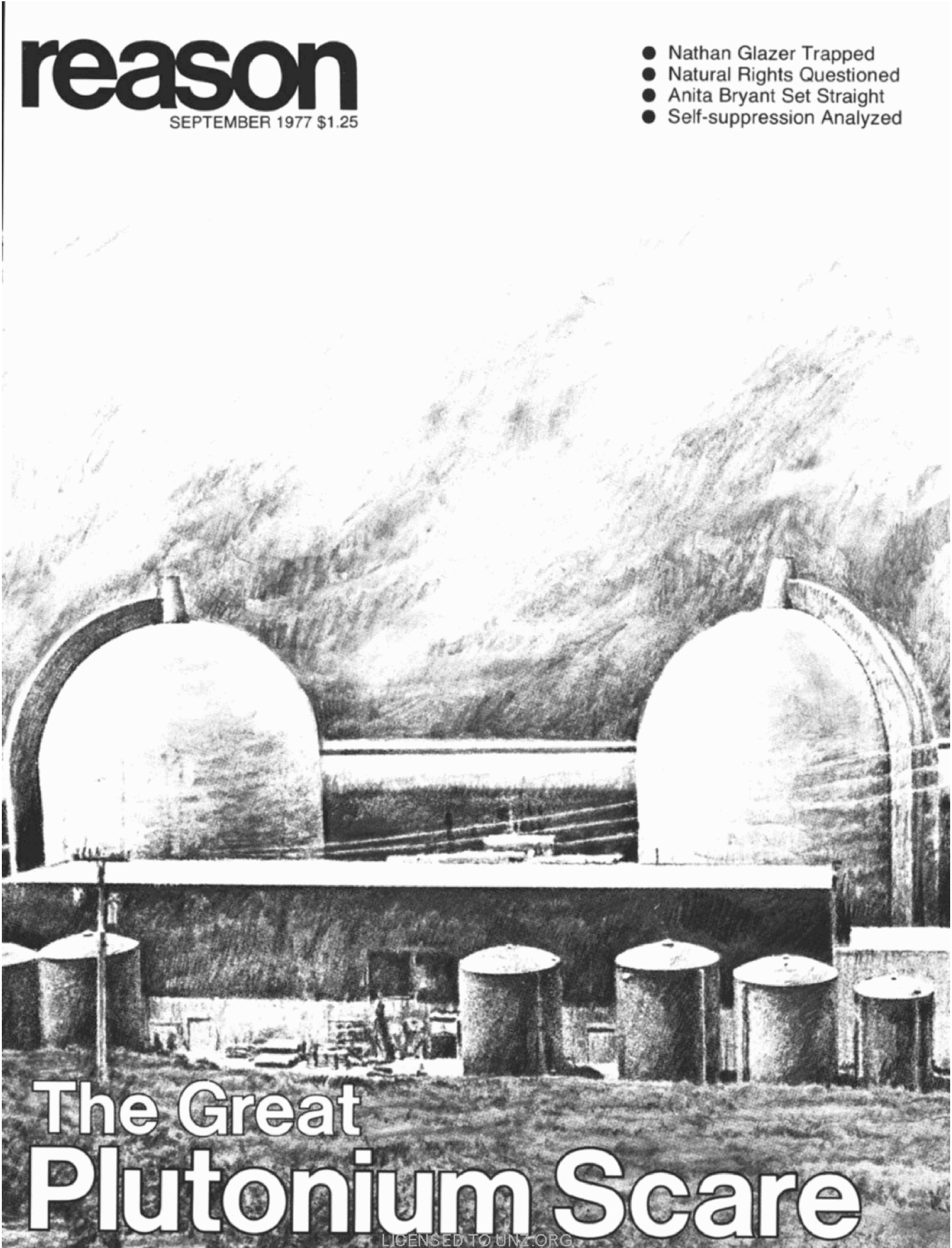
- Nathan Glazer Trapped
- Natural Rights Questioned
- Anita Bryant Set Straight
- Self-suppression Analyzed



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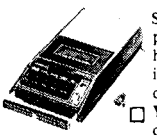

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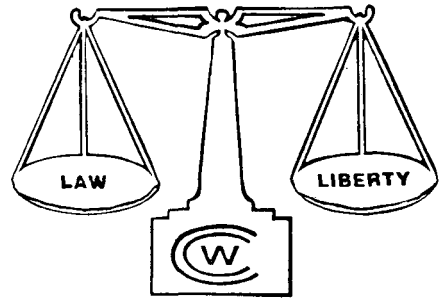

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reason

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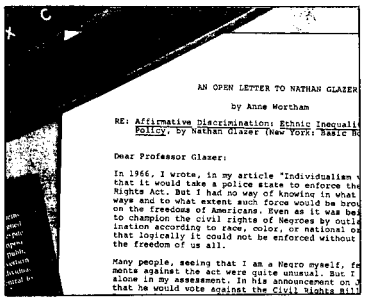

AN OPEN LETTER TO NATHAN GLAZER

by Anne Wortham

RE: Affirmative Discrimination: Ethnic Inequality by Nathan Glazer (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1975)

Dear Professor Glazer:

In 1966, I wrote, in my article "Individualism and the Civil Rights Act," that it would take a police state to enforce the Civil Rights Act. But I had no way of knowing in what ways and to what extent such force would be brought to bear on the freedoms of Americans. Even as it was being used to champion the civil rights of Negroes by outlawing discrimination according to race, color, or national origin, I knew that logically it could not be enforced without violating the freedom of us all.

Many people, seeing that I am a Negro myself, found my comments against the act were quite unusual. But I was not alone in my assessment. In his announcement on television that he would vote against the Civil Rights Bill

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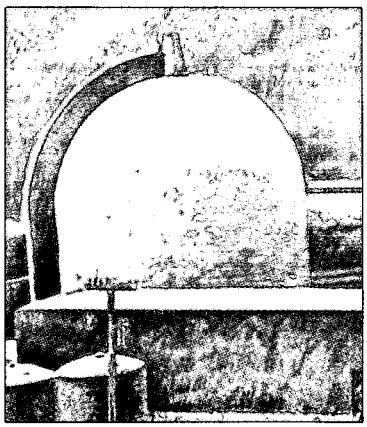

Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant in San Luis Obispo California
Cover photo by Barbara Camarena

REASON is published monthly by Reason Enterprises, 805 A West Figueroa, Santa Barbara, CA 93101. Tel. (805) 962-1079. Second class postage paid at Santa Barbara, CA and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Please send Form 3579 to REASON, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103. Copyright © 1977 by Reason Enterprises. All rights reserved. Opinions expressed in signed articles or columns do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.

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ISSN 0048-6906

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single copies, $1.25. Special Issues, $2.00 and $3.50. REASON publishes two Special Issues annually, which are sent to subscribers at no extra cost. Subscriptions: one year (12 issues) in the United States, $15.00; 2 years, $24.00; 3 years, $32.00. Other countries: add $1.50 extra per year.

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letters

Abortion and the First Amendment

Ms. Combs' article on abortion [May] suffers from the introduction of numerous extraneous issues, but her main point is evidently that legal prohibition of abortion enforces particular religious views, thereby violating First Amendment separation of church and state.

She does not seem to realize, however, that *any* legal system must define the scope of its application—that is, specify to whom its provisions apply. And the courts must decide whether the specifications are met in particular cases.

The decision as to whether unborn babies should or should not be considered legal persons entitled to the protection of the laws is thus inescapable. *In either case,* legal status is conferred upon the ethical belief of one group at the expense of the other. Law cannot escape this fact.

So the assertion that one definition of "legal person" (which includes the unborn) violates the First Amendment but another (which excludes the unborn) does not is utterly fallacious. The First Amendment simply has nothing to do with this case.

Matthew Krogdahl
Brooklyn, NY

Abortion and Rights

I must say Ms. Combs' article [May] made little sense to me. Her trotting out the old horse that women will have abortions, anyway, so why have a law, is ludicrous on the face of it. People commit murder every day, too, often with no regard for the penalty, even if the penalty is death. Does that mean we should get rid of homicide statutes?

The abortion issue revolves around two different standards on what is a human being. The abortionist (properly) argues a human being cannot exist dependent on another human being. A fetus that cannot live independently of its mother is not human so cannot be murdered. This is what the Supreme Court found in striking down the abortion statutes.

The anti-abortionist (properly) argues the fetus is as much a human being (though not as much *of* a human being) as an independent adult, based on genetic character. The sperm or egg are not human because, genetically, they do not possess human characteristics.

Finally, murder is a crime that entails volition. If I'm blinded and run over a person in my car, I have not murdered him; if I drive out of my way to run him down, then I have. If a woman loses a fetus by a natural act arising out of genetic or physical deformity, it isn't murder; if she willfully aborts and the genetic standard is correct, then it is.

Which standard is correct must be determined by philosophical analysis. Furthermore, it is essential that analysis be consistent. How many pro-abortionists would support legislation allowing a mother to abandon an infant to its fate? Yet, that is what one is arguing if one supports abortion for any other purpose than to preserve the life of the mother (a different standard is extant, there).

The doctrine of natural rights derives out of the nature of man, and part of that nature is that the females of the species bear the young. Precisely what that means is not clear to me, yet; however, I would caution libertarians in approaching this issue. It requires investigation, not emotional discourse.

Robert B. Crim
Naugatuck, CT

Libertarian Politics

The attacks on John Hospers [June] range from reasoned arguments to scathing attacks on working for the Libertarian Party since "...the only reward is the fraudulent currency of moral satisfaction."

I proudly state that I worked on the presidential election campaign of John Hospers in 1972, received not one penny of compensation, and feel amply rewarded and not in the least cheated in receiving the large measure of moral satisfaction which came my way.

To speculate about the probability of electing a Libertarian Party presidential candidate, and to further speculate what he might do once in the Oval Office goes farther afield than is necessary to prove a point.

Please consider three simple questions:

1. Do you believe that the more libertarians there are in the country, the better our prospects to be freer?

2. Do you believe that the Libertarian Party has exposed libertarianism to many people?

3. Do you believe that the Libertarian Party has exposed libertarianism to more

persons than has any other vehicle? More than all other vehicles combined?

I answer in the affirmative to all three questions. If you reply yes to only the first two questions, that supplies the total justification for the Libertarian Party. Where the people go from there, which of the many avenues of libertarianism they travel after that first exposure, how they react on some of the fine differences in philosophy—all of these do not in the least negate that they are where they are and are thinking what they are thinking because of, or at least partially because of, the Libertarian Party.

John Hospers had the guts to throw his heart and head and capital into spreading the word of a movement he believes in. How quickly we forget!

Bob Steiner
Westfield, NJ

Holding Office

David Suits [Letters, June] is one of many non-Party libertarians who attacks the LP on the grounds that it is anti-libertarian to seek or hold political office, no matter what you do with it. I don't think this reasoning can stand a close examination.

Political office-holding by libertarians can be viewed as a simple matter of self-defense. As long as the system is such that a given office *will* exist and *will* be occupied by someone, there is nothing immoral about trying to occupy it yourself in order to insure that it will not be used to violate your rights. All a libertarian politician need do to remain a libertarian is to refrain from using the office coercively. We would like to see him or her roll back the power of the whole structure, but that simply is not always possible.

Suits also implies that if one joins the government, one shares its moral guilt. Nonsense. The government is not a single, monolithic institution; it is composed of individuals, each of whom must be judged for his or her own contribution to freedom or slavery. Is the FBI agent who solves a kidnapping to be equated with the Federal marshal who seizes personal property to satisfy IRS judgments?

None of the above is to say that the LP is above criticism. I believe that it is an idea whose time won't be here for many years, if ever. It wastes time, energy and money on activities of no intrinsic worth (such as signature-gathering). But right now, it's the only game in town; no other group effectively gathers and focuses libertarian efforts. And I repeat, there is nothing immoral about its goals.

Steve Klein
Valencia, CA

Transition Programs

If someone were to have told me two months ago that I'd be writing a letter to REASON supporting Dr. John Hospers, I would have dismissed that person as a raving lunatic. Yet, here I am, a *radical* libertarian, defending Dr. Hospers on the points he made in the June REASON regarding transition from the present statist society to a free society.

Yes, I still consider myself a radical libertarian, and yes, I still favor abolishing the state with all deliberate speed. But I am realistic enough to understand the need for a number of intermediate steps along the way. To go from today's system, with its massive state apparatus, to anarchy overnight would be impossible logistically. To attempt to do so would lead to chaos and would quite likely result in the installation of a dictatorship of some sort.

There are ways of making the transition in an orderly and peaceful way, and these have been discussed by libertarians who seriously think about the consequences of their actions. I will not spell them out here because I may be using them next year in a campaign for Congress. But transition programs are under consideration by many people in the movement who recognize that they are needed.

C. William George
Westfield, NJ

Government Bankruptcy

In his letter [June], Dr. Hospers suggested that victims of the social security swindle could be compensated without relying on tax money. Sell government assets, he says, and use the proceeds to meet government obligations. And, he adds, we might also use such funds to finance the president and Congress during the interim while a libertarian government is withering away. That sure sounds good, except for one little problem: there isn't enough money. In his 1971 book *Libertarianism*, Dr. Hospers recommends sale of government assets, but he notes that the proceeds probably wouldn't even be enough to cover the national debt, which was only $400 billion back then. That's probably still true.

A closer look at the numbers reveals this: The Federal government owns some 750 million acres (according to *Action for Americans*, the Liberty Amendment book). If these lands were sold at an average price somewhere between $100 to $1000 per acre, that would bring in from

Continued on p. 10.

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The New Jingoism

editorial

During the first six months of the Carter administration, the Federal government has been working overtime to grant favors to special interest groups (businesses and labor unions) at the expense of American consumers and overseas workers. Some cases in point:

- In April the U.S. Customs Court ordered a 15 percent countervailing duty on imports of electronic products from Japan, in response to a suit brought by Zenith Corp. If upheld by higher courts, this ruling would cost consumers some $330 million per year just on color TV sets.
- The International Trade Commission (ITC), a U.S. government agency, recommended that tariffs on Japanese color TVs be quintupled—from 5 to 25 percent. The Carter administration instead negotiated a "voluntary" agreement by which the Japanese government will cut back exports to the United States from the present 3 million to only 1.75 million per year for the next three years. The president of Zenith predicts price increases of 15-20 percent within a year.
- The ITC also recommended that all shoe imports above the 1974 level be taxed at 40 percent instead of 10 percent, costing consumers some $200-300 million per year. Instead, Carter negotiated an agreement with the governments of the two largest producing nations, Taiwan and South Korea, which cuts back exports from 200 million to 150 million annually for the next four years. The impact in higher prices and reduced choice has not yet been revealed.
- Further, the ITC recommended reducing the sugar import quota from 7 million to 4.4 million tons per year. Carter, instead, authorized subsidies of up to 2¢/lb. to domestic producers (which won't affect the price, just your tax bill).
- Shipbuilders and shipping unions are lobbying hard for "cargo preference" legislation to require 30 percent of imported oil to be shipped in U.S. tankers—a move *Business Week* says would increase energy costs by a billion dollars per year. (Many new—subsidized—tankers would have to be built, and U.S. crew costs are the world's highest.)
- Textile firms are pressing for renewal of the Multi-Fiber Agreement which authorizes bilateral pacts to limit textile imports. Their key demand is a reduction in the allowable annual growth of imports from the present 6 percent to 2.6 percent (the rate of growth of domestic sales.)
- Steel producers, who have already won a quota on specialty steel imports, have filed suit to have a 30 percent countervailing duty imposed on steel imports from Common Market countries.
- And not to be outdone, the auto companies and the UAW fought for quotas limiting auto imports to 1976 levels as a condition of eligibility of imported cars for fuel-economy rebates—a clear response to the fact that 1977 auto import sales are *72 percent* higher than those of 1976.

This list is but a sampling of the activity going on in Washington. Thirty separate pleas for protection from imports are pending before the ITC—a sad commentary on the extent of "free enterprise" remaining in America. What is urgently needed is a mobilization of public opinion against this type of special pleading for State intervention, on both practical and moral grounds.

In practical terms, first of all there is the immediate cost to consumers of import restrictions. If the protectionists have their way, Americans will pay billions of dollars more for products they prefer—or be forced to choose less satisfying American goods. It's no accident that names like Audi, Honda, Sony, and Panasonic are valued by Americans—these firms produce high quality products at reasonable prices, some of which have no American equivalent. Few Americans would willingly pay higher prices for shoes, blouses, televisions, cars, sugar, or gasoline—even if it meant saving a few thousand jobs in an obsolescing industry.

Second is the harm done to the American economy by protecting inefficient industries. American companies, for the most part, can no longer compete in producing ships, shoes, or low-priced clothing. It would be far better in the long run, even for workers in those industries, if the capital and labor being wasted there were shifted into more productive uses. Any economist worth his salt can demonstrate that total wealth increases when goods are produced by the most efficient suppliers.

Third, the course the government is following is leading straight toward a trade war that will harm everybody. The Customs Court ruling in the Zenith case is a clearcut violation of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)—the basic law governing international trade. Since the practice of rebating indirect taxes to exporters—the key issue in the case—is nearly universal, if the court's ruling is upheld, it will be an invitation to practically every U.S. industry to apply for countervailing duties on imports that compete with its products. The result could easily be a repetition of the trade wars of the 1930's that prolonged the depression and helped lead to World War II. GATT and Common Market officials have already stated as much.

But beyond these issues is the moral case. Suppose we took an American county populated with factories, workers, and consumers and drew a line down the middle. We then ruled that those on one side of the line may not sell products to those on the other side—or may only do so if they pay a high tax; we do this, of course, only to protect the jobs of those on the other side. Most people would consider such an action absurd and unjust.

Why, then, if the same thing is carried out across an arbitrary line called a national border is it any less unjust? What is it that makes the workers and companies on the other side of the line any less entitled to carry out their business without forcible intervention? The only difference is that they are *foreigners*. "Why should those Japanese or Koreans or Brazilians have jobs making shoes or TVs when *our* people are out of work?" Americans say. But what kind of antihuman nonsense is this? Have we learned nothing after two world wars and endless campaigns for brotherhood? If the word "Jews" were to be substituted for "Koreans" in the above question, most people would recoil in horror.In that case, we *know* how evil it is to deal in ethnic categories instead of human beings.

At its base, then, protectionism boils down to jingoism—the irrational belief that people of one's own nationality are in some way better than others and deserve superior legal standing. It is somehow OK for the State to restrict *their* sales or to tax *their* products because, after all, they're only *foreigners*.

But free trade is color-blind, race-blind, nation-blind. It rewards *results, performance, excellence*—not ancestry. If free trade is to avoid being swallowed up by resurgent protectionism, the moral evil of jingoism must be identified and thoroughly repudiated.

Robert Poole, Jr.

The economist who forecast the 1973 oil crisis now says . . .

"Triple-digit inflation is inevitable and will completely destroy the dollar."

In March 1973, Economist Jerome F. Smith publicly warned of an impending oil crisis. He said that Arab countries would soon begin using their oil as a weapon against America. He was virtually alone in making this startling forecast—yet events soon proved him correct.

Now in an exclusive interview with the *Silver & Gold Report*, Jerome Smith makes another startling forecast—that double-digit inflation is going to accelerate into *runaway, triple-digit inflation*, completely destroying the dollar. In the interview, he explains why. He also describes why such a development will be disastrous for most investments. Finally, he recommends a few select investments and explains why he believes they will let you preserve your wealth during the inflationary storm ahead.

Here are examples of Jerome F. Smith's analyses:

On Runaway Inflation

"If you add in all of the deficits of the off-budget federal agencies and departments, plus the unfunded liabilities of the Social Security Administration, and the various other liabilities of the federal government, you reach a true national debt total that has been variously estimated from $5 to $6½ *trillion*.

"Now there's no way under the sun that a debt of that magnitude can ever be repaid. To put it in perspective, $6 trillion breaks down to $113,000 per family.

"The only way the debt can be handled is to destroy it through bankruptcy. The way a nation goes bankrupt is to destroy its liquid assets—its paper currency—through hyperinflation. In other words, hyperinflation is nation-state bankruptcy. And it will come. You can count on it."

On Government Attempts to Curb Inflation

"The die is cast. The Inflationary spiral is beyond the control of Mr. Carter or anyone else. Nothing from a pragmatic, realistic point of view can possibly stop it from accelerating into hyperinflation now."

On Common Stocks and Other Investments

"In general, common stocks will fare poorly in accelerating inflation and especially hyperinflation simply because the latter stages of inflation massively disrupt commerce and industry and have a disastrous impact on real earnings. During the German hyperinflation of the early 1920s . . . common stocks were a poor investment."

In addition to common stocks, Jerome F. Smith analyzes bonds, precious metals and certain foreign currencies.

About Jerome F. Smith— His Background and Track Record

Jerome F. Smith is an Economist and Investment Counselor who built a reputation for remarkably accurate economic forecasting.

He recommended gold while it was still at $35 per ounce. That was long before gold became a popular investment with Americans and just shortly before its price began to climb steeply. Subsequently, he correctly called five of six major price movements for gold.

He first recommended silver in 1967, when it was selling at $1.29 per ounce. Soon it began a major move and almost doubled in price. In 1973, he publicly forecast that silver would reach $4.00 an ounce within a year—and was right again.

In mid-1975, he anticipated short-term weakness in the Swiss franc and suggested that investors open short positions in it. In the three months following, the franc declined 6.3%.

And in December of 1976, when most economists pronounced inflation "under control," he forecast that we would again see double-digit inflation rates *within a matter of months*—which is exactly what happened in February and March of this year.

Of course, Jerome Smith isn't always right. For example, he was bullish on gold at the time it was legalized in the U.S., after which the price fell dramatically. Nevertheless, Harry Browne, investment counselor and author of *How You Can Profit from the Coming Devaluation, You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis,* and *Harry Browne's Complete Guide to Swiss Banks,* has written, "The immense profits made by myself and by readers of my Devaluation Book are due in large part to Jerome F. Smith's trailblazing."

He also compares silver and gold, and tells why he believes one of them is a far superior investment at this time. He describes one particular investment he believes will increase 100% this year and over 390% in the next few years. He gives you timing advice and recommendations about how to buy it. He also recommends 2 other investments—one for its short-term profit, the other as a long-term profit opportunity.

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letters

Continued from p. 7.

$75 to $750 billion. The government owns other assets in addition, like post office trucks, building, and machinery, etc. How much would all this come to? *Action for Americans* mentions a 1962 government inventory that puts a value on all Federal assets at $300 billion. The figure will be higher now due to new acquisitions and inflation over the last 15 years, but a reasonable present figure is probably something less than $1 trillion.

What do we see on the liability side? Jerome F. Smith's article "Here Comes Hyperinflation!" gives figures for government liabilities from the National Taxpayers Union. The national debt alone is now $620 billion and there are many hundreds of billions of other liabilities not included in the national debt. The figure for social security obligations alone is given as $2.7 trillion!

We must conclude that, even if all government assets were sold (and I'm all for that), the proceeds would just about pay off the national debt with nothing left over for social security victims or other claimants. Even if the government were to default on the national debt and pay out all proceeds to social security recipients, even then it could pay less than half, maybe only a third, of what it has promised to pay. If social security victims are to be fully compensated, as Dr. Hospers so fervidly desires, the money has to come from new taxation or the printing press. There are no other options.

Jim Stumm
Kenmore, NY

reason's comment of the month

The letter below, by subscriber Jeff Friedman, appeared in the May 23, 1977 issue of *Time*.

POWER GRAB

Cries of outrage should greet the President's blatant grab for more power; instead, we sagely nod our heads and agree that we must sacrifice for the good of the state. Rather than demanding the repeal of the energy price controls that caused the crisis, we blindly resolve to give the Government even more authority over our lives. This *is* war—war against our liberty—and we are surrendering without firing a shot!

Jeff Friedman
Northbrook, IL

REASON subscribers are encouraged to write letters to the editor of their favorite newspaper, magazine, or journal, and to submit replies to TV and radio editorials, presenting libertarian views on topics of current interest. Each month the editors of REASON select the most notable published letter or broadcasted reply for republication in this space, and honor the writer by a six-month extension of his or her REASON subscription. Send copies of your published letters or broadcasted replies to Reason Comment of the Month, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

Financial Success

Congratulations on your June financial issue. It's the best financial issue you and the rest of the REASON team have ever put out! Many of the articles in there are extremely interesting, and your team must surely have put a lot of hard work into it. It shows! Congratulations again to you and all the rest of the good folks at REASON.

John V. Kamin
Tarzana, CA

Bryant As Ally?

My sincerest apologies to Anita Bryant and my sincerest thanks to Bill Birmingham [June]. I blush to think that I let the "normal" news sources give me the impression that Anita was a religious nut out to burn gays on the stake. I heave a sigh of relief that I have a reliable source like Bill (God help him if the report ain't so!) to set me straight.

And I'll take the cue from Bill and ask: where were the gay libertarians? Good Lord, what a tremendous opportunity was lost! Can you imagine the good publicity the gay libertarians would have received if they had come out in support of Ms. Bryant, strictly because of her proper stand on civil rights?

Guy W. Riggs
Poughkeepsie, NY

Protecting Gay Rights

Your Quickies columnist [June] asks "Where are the gay libertarians? This was in connection with a paragraph reporting the enactment of a civil-rights type of sexual preference law in Miami. As a member of the gay chapter of the Libertarian Party I would like to report, here I am. But I can speak only for myself, not for the group.

Personally, I think the homosexual problem would best be solved by abolishing the laws punishing this variation, and that is all. I do not favor further enactment of civil-rights type laws. That's the way I see the solution today. But I have my fingers crossed. Just abolishing the punishment part of the code might not give any relief. And I think herein lies a flaw in the Libertarian Party philosophy.

The anarchy segment seems to think utopia can be reached by wiping out all except a handful of laws, say three or four. That's all we would need to stamp out fraud, protect the rights of the individual, stop all foreign enemies and clean up domestic subversives. I don't agree. I suspect it will take just as many laws as we've got now to get a working libertarian system going. There will have to be just as many courts, policemen and judges. The regulation of human beings has never been simple since homo sapiens appeared on earth.

For example in the Miami mess. If I saw a sign, "Apartment for Rent," wouldn't I, as an individual, feel I had a right to move in provided I obeyed all the laws of this country? (I'm assuming Miami will have abolished punishment of homosexuals.) What if every house in Miami had a sign, "For rent, except to homosexuals"?

Personally, I think my best bet would be to show the citizens of Miami that I can be admirable and a good renter and still be homosexual. But what if the majority of the citizens of Miami don't want to be shown? What if there should be a religious movement (or some sort of morals movement) afoot in Miami, one that had carefully divorced itself from the government in such a way that it could not come under the anarchists' disapproval, and it was death on homosexuals? I doubt if I would get the apartment.

We are now living in an era when homosexuality is more or less tolerated. At present the majority of this country is afraid to whack down on a minority. But what would happen if all our civil rights laws, from the Bill of Rights on down, were discarded. I can remember only a few years back when times were much less tolerant.

So I think the Miami problem will not be easily resolved. And I think the Libertarian Party has a lot of thinking to do about what it will take to protect the

rights of the individual.

William Black
Auburn, WA

Archism vs. Anarchism

Dr. Machan's summary of the archist/anarchist debate [May] was unclear; let me explain where I found his reasoning somewhat less than exact.

1. Dr. Machan's evaluation of the philosophic rigor of those on opposite sides of the archist fence is confusing—Dr. Rothbard's "defense agency" notion is "muddled," but Paul Beaird's "Reply to Roy Childs," certainly the most muddled work to appear in this long debate, is "an especially telling case" against Roy's brilliant "Open Letter to Ayn Rand." For Machan, a Randian philosopher, to applaud Beaird's article is surprising, as Beaird's complaint against competing defense agencies is that they include the imposition on a man of a form of justice to which he never consented. Beaird thinks it's a violation of a man's rights to try him under a system of justice which he has not previously accepted. Surely this goes *against* the Randian contention that justice is an objective, reality-based principle, no more depending upon acceptance for its validity than, say, the law of universal gravitation.

2. We find Dr. Rothbard places taxation within the definition of government, thereby "getting to anarchism by the fallacy of pleading his case." Actually, Rothbard defines government as a monopoly of coercion and taxation, monopoly of coercion being the key issue (witness Murray's moral outrage at Nozick's ultraminimal state, which monopolizes coercion but doesn't tax); taxation is *not* the only thing anarchists find wrong with government.

3. But if Rothbard gets to anarchy by overdefining government, then Machan derives the State by underdefining it. He doesn't define "governmental jurisdiction." There seems to be only two choices: either it refers to some fixed geographical area, or it is the sum total (potentially constantly changing) of the justly owned property of the government's customers.

If the former, what justifies the claim that those within the area "who wish to abstain from receiving service remain legally isolated (meaning?) *or* build other agencies *outside* the jurisdiction of the agencies (shouldn't that be agency?) established in one community"? If the property is morally theirs, why must they submit or get out?

If Machan chooses the second definition, what has been solved? How do the problems arising between competing defense agencies differ from what, under his conception, would be called warring governments? Two individuals conflict—if they subscribe to different defense agencies, society trembles, but if they merely reside within the jurisdiction of different governments, peace and harmony reign? Machan might claim that under his system any conflict necessarily occurs under the sole jurisdiction of one government; but, in an anarchist scheme, any conflict will necessarily occur on someone's property. Where the conflict occurs either will or will not be relevant to the issue of justice; if it is, why can't anarchist legal agencies take proper cognizance of this fact?

4. Machan's claim that agencies competing in the service of rights-protection within one homogeneous area necessarily lead to rights-violation bespeaks either lack of sufficient grounding in economics, or, at least, lack of clarity in failing to support this potentially profound claim with sufficient evidence and argument to mandate rational persuasion.

It might be replied that one can hardly go into detail in a short article (no more, in fact, than in a short letter to the editor), and so Dr. Machan should not be taken to task for not explaining all in a mere page. But I found none of the issues mentioned above covered any better in Machan's book (which, in other respects, is quite good).

Ross Levatter
Pittsburgh, PA

Dr. Machan replies: I am not at all persuaded that Mr. Levatter has raised any issues that will show my comments to have been unclear, even if some of his questions should be answered. As to #1, I had a particular point of Mr. Beaird's reply in mind, where he overcomes the only substance of Childs's essay, concerning whether judicial procedures are anti-individualist. (Incidentally, I am not now, have never been, and will not be a Randian philosopher, whatever on earth that means.) Concerning #2, Rothbard just could not sustain his objection to government simply on grounds that "government is a monopoly of coercion," since Rothbard cannot morally object to monopolies per se, only to coercive monopolies, which governments, as I characterize them, certainly need not be. #3 I have answered in *Human Rights and Human Liberties* and will not do so here simply because Mr. Levatter doesn't get the argument. There is nothing mysterious about the possibility that some kinds of contractual relations require specialized ways of entering, staying within, and breaking them. As to whether, re #4, I lack sufficient grounding in economics, Mr. Levatter carefully avoids explaining why this might be so. I will not guess for him and just report that he is wrong.

Continued on p. 15.

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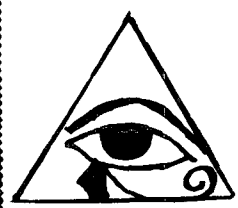

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brickbats

☐ **You want to know what the new Soviet constitution means,** when it guarantees free speech? It means foreign correspondents have the right to speak—in KGB interrogation rooms. Next question.

☐ **Lies in the Congressional Record are about as newsworthy as the sunrise,** but you might care to know that Congressional junkets cost a total of $2.5 million last year, according to *US News & World Report*, rather than the $1.4 million the CR claimed. One of the grossest distortions: the Pentagon says it spent $1.1 million, not $243,000, schlepping Congress-gypsies to the far corners of the earth in 1976. Worst of all, half of that was to bring them back.

☐ **Eight months after the quadrennial circus,** the Federal Elections Committee wants three clowns, Reagan, Ford, and Sen. Henry Jackson (D-WA), to return an estimated $691,000 in unspent campaign subsidies. But not just yet, you understand; the FEC must audit the clowns' books first, and their 27 auditors have a "heavy workload." Ronald Reagan is probably in no hurry to return the estimated $349,000 he owes; he's got it in government securities paying 5% interest—which he doesn't have to return. Ronzo is expected to use the interest (which amounts to between 20 and 25 grand) to stump the country denouncing the bums on welfare. Pennsylvania governor Milton Shapp, for his part, has "promised" to return some $300,000 in subsidies he got because "false information" was submitted to the FEC. Although the wire service report did not elaborate, that does sound like Shapp (or somebody) is guilty of fraud. Do let us know if anyone gets arrested.

☐ **In fiscal year 1974 the Federal Government** paid out $267 million in compensation for job-related injuries; last year it was $475 million; in 1980 it may reach a billion dollars. The largest number of claims went to the employees of the US Snail. Why? J. Joseph Vaca, president of the letter carriers union, told a Congressional panel "the rapid rise in injury claims by postal workers came because management is forcing employees to work faster." (UPI; June 29, 1977)

☐ **Mr. Henry Kyemba,** Uganda's ex-Minister of Health who recently defected to Britain, reportedly told a London *Sunday Times* interviewer that Ugandan dictator Idi Amin has "self-confessed cannibalistic tendencies. I have no doubt he was serious when he told me that he had eaten human meat on a number of occasions. He remarked emphatically that it was salty." He suggested that Amin dined on Brigadier Charles Arube in 1974 (who was killed when Amin suspected Arube of plotting against him) when he inspected the Brigadier's corpse alone in the Mungalo Hospital mortuary. Indeed; as Minister of Health, Kyemba reports, several doctors told him that bodies delivered to other mortuaries "had been tampered with in mysterious ways." Some readers may recall the time that William F. Buckley suggested that black Africans were not yet ready for self-government. Challenged to say when they would be ready he replied, "When they stop eating each other."

☐ **Who says detente is one-sided?** Last year, Soviet diplomats in Washington got 12,270 parking tickets and failed to pay any of them, which saved them $245,400. But the State Department begs to report that for their part "Soviet police don't ticket diplomatic cars parked within two blocks of the American Embassy in Moscow." (UPI; June 19, 1977)

☐ **Our Mobil Award for the most unprincipled ally** of free enterprise goes to Mr. William F. Rockwell, Jr. of Rockwell International and the Tax Foundation, Inc., who warned a group of Denver businessmen that "government planners are working to take over the US economy and... business leaders must resist such changes." Rockwell International was the prime contractor for the B-1 bomber. "In addition to its other activities, Rockwell operates the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant northwest of Denver for the Federal Energy Research and Development Administration." (AP; June 23, 1977)

☐ **"Where the devil is the guy who set the Reichstag fire when we really need him?"** As you might expect, that appeal to the shade of Berlin brownshirt Karl Ernst (who was murdered in the 1934 purge of the *Sturmabteilung*, by the way) was written by columnist Patrick Buchanan. Pat would like to torch the United Nations (wouldn't we all?) and claims that "an estimated one-third of the 401 Soviet nationals working at the UN is said to be tied directly to the KGB. Since U.S. taxpayers foot 25% of the UN bill, Americans are thus paying one-quarter of the princely salaries paid to the scores of Soviet Police."

☐ **Amite County,** Misissippi, used to have racially segregated, coeducational public schools. Eventually the Supreme Court objected, of course, and now the county segregates its schools not by color but by sex; the better to ward off dat ole debbil miscegenation. The Mississippi NAACP wants a Federal court to order a return to coeducation, claiming that the present system has led to, among other things; "homosexual incidents" in the schools. Would you want your *son* to marry a black man?

☐ **Joe Rauh called it** "a national tragedy." The ACLU said it was "among the worst decisions by a Supreme Court generally insensitive to individual rights." But the Court ruled 6 to 3 that the states can refuse to pay for Medicaid abortions. Said Justice Powell; "The Constitution imposes no obligation on the states to pay the pregnancy-related medical expenses of indigents, or indeed to pay any of the medical expenses of indigents." Such heresy! Someone ought to tell the ACLU about a taxpayer's right to control *his* own body.

☐ **The Way We Live Now:** The Shreveport, Louisiana, police are exhorting the populace not to feed the alligators, who have grown bold and have started to eat stray dogs and geese. The mayor of Hondo, Texas, wants 180 idlers to come boost the town's unemployment rate so it can get federal aid. The California State Assembly unanimously voted to define bees as livestock. The US Army is trying to discharge Spec4 Marie Bode for "homosexual tendencies," on the grounds that her transsexual "husband" used to be a WAC. And in Norristown, Pennsylvania, miniature pinscher Curly Bonner was assessed $484 in school taxes. *Not* obedience school.

☐ **Ding Dong, The Witch is Dead.** On Thursday, June 30, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the chief excuse for America's Indochina debacle, finally died after 23 bloodstained years; driving one more nail in the coffin of "collective security." And taking those right-wing libertarians, who haven't the *cojones* to forsake their imperialist creed, off one more hook.

Bill Birmingham

trends

Commercial Speech Is Free Speech

Extending an important recent trend, the United States Supreme Court has ruled that state laws prohibiting advertising by lawyers are unconstitutional. In a 5-4 decision, the court ruled that the First Amendment protects truthful advertising of the availability and terms of legal services. The decision, added to previous rulings overturning bans on advertising drug prices, eyeglasses, and (at the state level) physicians' fees, substantially strengthens the position that commercial speech is not fundamentally different from ordinary speech, and is therefore entitled to First Amendment protection.

The court's decision concerned an Arizona legal clinic set up by two young lawyers serving low-income clients. The lawyers placed ads in newspapers listing their fees for handling divorces, bankruptcies, adoptions, and other services. The laywers, Bates and O'Steen, had been censured by the state Supreme Court after proceedings against them by the state bar. A similar clinic in southern California, operated by Jacoby and Meyers, fared somewhat better: the California Supreme Court ruled in May that Jacoby and Meyers had a First Amendment right to at least publicize their clinic (as they had done). In the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling, Jacoby and Meyers announced plans for full-scale advertising. Meyers predicted that such advertising would help reduce the price of legal services.

SOURCES:

- "Supreme Court Rules Lawyers May Advertise," UPI (Washington), June 28, 1977.

"Southland Legal Clinic to Start Advertising," *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1977.

More Freedom of Choice Advocates

The battle to establish freedom of choice in using controversial substances such as saccharin, Laetrile, and marijuana picked up new allies and won some new victories during the past month. William Buckley and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* made renewed pleas for easing up on marijuana. Buckley chided the New York Conservative Party for lobbying against a proposed marijuana decriminalization law for that state (whose law still provided up to a year in jail for possession of a quarter ounce). The bill passed anyway, making New York the ninth state to decriminalize pot. The *Star-Bulletin*, meanwhile, editorialized—seriously—that marijuana should be legalized and could become an important commercial crop for Hawaii, now that sugar is declining in importance. The newspaper also urged the government to "get off people's backs" in the case of saccharin and Laetrile.

On the saccharin front, although a new Canadian study provided evidence of a link between its use and bladder cancer in men, pressures continued to have the government permit individuals to make their own risk-benefit assessment, rather than ban the substance outright. The Council on Wage and Price Stability challenged the FDA's proposed ban, charging that the agency's inflation-impact statement underestimates the costs of the ban and "contains no discussion or analysis of benefits or of possible alternative actions." In its statement the FDA had ignored the "potential costs and hazards to diabetics and obese people," counting as costs only the expense of converting products from saccharin to sugar. Also joining the anti-ban wagon was the American Medical Association. The AMA's House of Delegates urged the FDA not to ban saccharin, but merely to place warning labels on products containing the substance. One physician commented, "I hope my diabetic patients live long enough to get bladder cancer." The AMA also called for repeal of the controversial Delaney Amendment, which requires the FDA to ban additives which cause cancer in animals—whether or not they cause cancer in humans.

Finally, at press time, two more states had legalized Laetrile, bringing the total to 10. The Delaware and Louisiana legislatures both passed bills permitting the *manufacture* as well as sale of Laetrile, a provision which was also included in the previously passed bills in Arizona, Indiana, and Texas.

SOURCES:

- "Calling the Pot Black," William F. Buckley, Jr., syndicated column, May 23, 1977.
- "Pot Decriminalized in New York," AP (Albany), June 30, 1977.
- "Marijuana, Laetrile Should Be Permitted," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 24, 1977.
- "Proposed Saccharin Ban by FDA Is Hit By Wage-Price Unit," *Wall Street Journal*, June 16, 1977.
- "AMA Asks Repeal of Amendment," *Wall Street Journal*, June 23, 1977.
- "Two More States OK Sale of Laetrile," AP (Washington), June 21, 1977.

New Airline Competition

After years of bureaucratic delay, the Civil Aeronautics Board and President Carter have approved the Laker Airways Skytrain proposal. On Sept. 26 Laker will begin providing no-frills, no-reservation transatlantic service in DC-10 jets for $135 from west to east and $102 east to west. Skytrain will provide the first real price competition across the Atlantic—and competitors moved in quickly with plans of their own. Both TWA and Pan American said they would match Laker's prices for similar no-frills service. National Leisure Corp., operator of air charters, has asked CAB permission to offer no-reservation round trips for $18 less than Laker.

On the home front the CAB is proceeding with consideration of World Airways' under-$100 no-frills cross-country proposal. Several other airlines have now filed similar proposals, and the CAB has decided to limit its consideration to routes linking four cities in the east (New York, Newark, Baltimore, Washington) and six in the west (Los Angeles, Ontario, Long Beach, San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose). The specter of deregulation has finally prompted the bureaucracy to take price competition seriously.

SOURCES:

- "Carter Approves Skytrain," UPI (Washington), June 14, 1977.
- "Laker Skytrain Prods Competing Proposals in U.S.," *Wall Street Journal*, June 27, 1977.

"CAB Limits 'No-Frills' Air Fares to 10 U.S. Cities," AP (Washington), June 9, 1977.

Cutting Water Subsidies

Mention government subsidies and most people think of dollars being handed out to special interest groups. But many subsidies are more subtle—the providing of goods or services by the government at less than their cost. Two multimillion dollar examples have recently come under well-deserved attack.

The first concerns Federal dam construction. Both the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation carry out benefit-cost calculations in an attempt to show that the total benefits of a new dam (preventing flood losses, generating power, providing recreation) are greater than its cost. Unfortunately, these calculations have never been worth the paper they're printed on. Why? The most glaring reason is that one of the largest

costs—the opportunity cost of capital—is always grossly understated. For years this figure, known as the discount rate, was set at 3.25 percent for such projects, when the market rate has been between 7 and 12 percent. President Carter wants to up the rate to 6.375 percent—a substantial improvement. Using that figure, such projects as the Applegate Lake dam in Oregon have their benefit-cost ratio decreased from 1.34 to 0.64—meaning the project is clearly uneconomical. Such a project provides benefits to a favored few who live in its vicinity at the expense of taxpayers in general. This is the case with most Federal dam proposals.

A similar problem exists with Federally improved waterways. Both Carter and many Republican Senators favor imposing user fees on ship and barge owners who use these waterways. Historically, billions in Federal tax money have been spent on developing and maintaining the waterways, without the users having to pay a cent. Carter wants all users of Federal water projects to be charged something for the benefits they receive, calling user willingness to pay "essential as a test of economic demand." In June the Senate voted 71-20 to impose user fees on Federal waterways, but the proposal faces strong opposition in the House. Carter, though, has threatened a veto if some form of charging is not included.

SOURCES:
- "Carter's Hard Line on Water Projects," *Business Week*, May 2, 1977, p. 25.
- "Senate Votes Fees for Shippers Using U.S. Inland Waterways," AP (Washington), June 23, 1977.

No Work—No Payments

Two recent court decisions may put a halt to the common practice of government subsidization of strikes. First, in New York the U.S. District Court ruled that it is unconstitutional for striking workers to receive unemployment compensation. Judge Richard Owen overturned a New York law that had permitted such payments, ruling that it was "state intervention on behalf of the strikers" since it forced "an employer to finance its own strikers." This, he said, conflicts with Federal labor law policy and is therefore void under the supremacy clause of the Constitution.

One month later the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states are free to deny welfare benefits to families of strikers. In a 5-4 vote, the court overturned a lower court finding that Maryland could not deny welfare payments to the family of a striker. The Supreme Court held that a Federal regulation which lets each state define unemployment as it chooses is permissible, therefore allowing Maryland to withhold benefits by excluding from the "unemployed" those who are on strike or have quit voluntarily. The court has not yet ruled on whether *paying* such benefits to families of strikers is constitutional—only that not paying them is.

SOURCES:
- "Striker Jobless Pay Ruled Invalid," AP (New York), May 24, 1977.
- "States Are Free to Deny Welfare Benefits to Families of Strikers," *Wall Street Journal*, June 21, 1977.

Fiscal Responsibility Laws

A conservative group called the American Legislative Exchange Council has developed a program of 22 model laws, mostly aimed at controlling the growth and cost of government. Among the proposals are the following:
- A state constitutional limitation on taxation (similar to proposals by the National Tax Limitation Committee),
- A Zero-Based Budget and Sunset Act calling for termination of state agencies after four years unless re-authorized,
- The Balanced Federal Budget Petition, calling on Congress to convene a constitutional convention to pass a balanced budget amendment (already passed by 18 states),
- The Economic Impact Disclosure Act, based on the model law developed by the Law and Economics Center at the University of Miami (see REASON, May 1976, p. 40) and enacted last year in Florida.

The program also includes constitutional amendments supporting the right to property and the right to keep and bear arms—provisions frequently not spelled out in state constitutions. Another interesting measure is a Judicial Sentencing Disclosure Act, requiring a complete public record of each judge's sentencing history.

Many of the model laws have been introduced into the Louisiana legislature by one of the program's authors, Rep. Louis (Woody) Jenkins. And an Economic Impact Disclosure Act was introduced in the California legislature in April.

SOURCE:
- *1977 Suggested State Legislation*, American Legislative Exchange Council (600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003).

Competing for Sites

Where to locate that new oil refinery, airport, or power plant? That's an increasing dilemma these days, as residents become more concerned about large-scale impacts on their way of life. The brute force approach, so popular with governments, is becoming harder to implement, thanks to citizens' ability and willingness to protest, file lawsuits, etc.

So why not try a marketplace approach, say a group of MIT researchers. Let communities make competing bids: specify how much they'd pay to get the facility in their town—or how much they'd have to be paid to take it. And the best bid gets the facility. The proposal is a serious one, says Prof. Lawrence Susskind, an urban studies specialist at MIT. "Siting by auction" is the best approach his team has come up with, under a grant from the Energy Research and Development Administration to study the "boomtown phenomenon" associated with building new energy facilities in rural communities.

Susskind has already tested the idea—successfully—in trying out various Massachutts communities as sites for a new prison. And political leaders in that state and California have expressed interest. "Siting by auction" may be a way to replace *force* by *choice*.

SOURCE:
- "Not on My Block," Alan L. Otten, *Wall Street Journal*, May 19, 1977.

Another Private Weather Service

This column's report on for-profit weather forecasting (April) omitted mention of Accu-weather, one of the nation's largest and most successful private enterprise weather services. The company provides an excellent example of the market in operation. Its basic *modus operandi* is to seek out markets for weather information and serve them, better than the National Weather Service.

Accu-weather's principal customers are truck fleets—some 25 of them—but clients also include city and county governments and highway authorities. The firm collects weather data from 700 U.S. reporting locations, another 100 in Canada, and from ships and planes en route. Reports come in continuously, via teletypewriter, providing data that are only minutes old. These data form the basis for the company's specialized services.

The heart of its service approach is the *individualized forecast*, tailored to a customer's specific needs and specific location. Accu-weather is able to pinpoint weather conditions in specific areas, due to its extremely frequent data updates. By contrast, National Weather Service forecast data can be up to seven hours old. Of particular value are the com-

pany's *storm alert* and *storm-warning* services. From 18 to 36 hours before a snow, sleet, or ice storm threatens a customer's area, AW *telephones* an alert to the customer. If the storm becomes definite, AW telephones a comprehensive storm warning, updating it while the storm is in progress. (The company predicted last December's four-foot snowfall in Buffalo three days ahead of time.) Another AW offering is its *map service* for fleets serving a wide area. Each map is prepared for the specific fleet, for a given time period, and is delivered by telecopier. For those clients who need to verify weather-caused damages or delays, AW offers *weather reconstruction* service, providing a detailed log of the actual weather conditions at the time and place in question.

This kind of service explains the company's growth from serving six fleets to the present 25 over the last six years. Its 23 full-time and 10 part-time meteorologists demonstrate that you don't have to work for the State to forecast the weather. A market for such information exists, and is growing rapidly.

SOURCE:

- "What's the Weather?" *Fleet Owner*, Feb. 1977, p. 63.

Milestones

• *Costly Regulations.* The regulations imposed on trucking cost consumers at least $4 billion a year. So says the government's own Council on Wage and Price Stability. COWPS would like to see the ICC stop restricting entry into trucking, so that competition could force rates down. As it is, ICC licenses (called certificates) are so difficult to obtain that one recently changed hands for $20 million, an indication of the extent of monopoly power being granted by the State. (Source: "Wage Unit Says ICC Rules Boost Rates," AP (Washington), June 10, 1977).

• *Medical Freedom.* A practitioner of homeopathic medicine who holds no medical license has been granted permission to continue his practice of holistic healing. Dana Ullman's attorney reached a settlement with the Oakland district attorney's office, under which if Ullman makes written contracts with his patients, the charges against him (practicing medicine without a license) will be dropped. The contract must state that the client should see a licenced physician for treatment of any *disease*, as opposed to obtaining preventive advice and treatment which Ullman dispenses. "This is the first legal case to confirm the existence of an approach other than the medical approach to health care," said Ullman's attorney. "For the past 70 years all health care approaches outside the medical profession have been illegal." (Source: "Non-Doctor Wins Right to Provide Health Care," UPI (Oakland), April 10, 1977.)

• *OSHA Gives In.* Conceding that OSHA has wasted taxpayers' money by harassing small businesses with petty regulations and inspections, Labor Secretary Ray Marshall has announced a change in policy. Henceforth, OSHA will ostensibly focus its resources only on serious health and safety problems, and will remove "unnecessary and complex government regulations" from the backs of small business. We'll see. (Source: "Agency Will Shift Focus to Major Worker Hazards," UPI [Washington], May 19, 1977.)

• *Government costs exposed.* The total dollar cost of Federal, state, and local government comes to $9035 per year for the average family. So reports the National Taxpayers Union, based on several recent studies. Direct taxes take *Continued on p. 48.*

letters

Continued from p. 11.

Also, let's be careful about one thing—my own and Rothbard's position aren't that different, so problems of distinguishing them are inherent.—**T.R.M.**

Savings Bonds

Congratulations on your publication, REASON. I noticed your recent listing in *Standard Rate & Data Service* and I'm taking the liberty of writing to you regarding the Savings Bonds Program.

The U.S. Savings Bonds Program offers a unique opportunity for citizens to save for personal security while investing in America's future. Our sales have reached all-time highs. The success of the program is due primarily to the volunteer efforts of people in all media who have helped to make it the greatest thrift program in the world.

I'm sure you are familiar with our public service filler ads. They are created by Leo Burnett Advertising Agency through the Advertising Council and have wide support from the magazine industry as well as other media.

With your permission, I would like to place your publication on our monthly mailing list to receive various size proofs for offset printing. We hope you will be able to publish Savings Bonds ads as often as space permits, as a valuable contribution to the Bond Program.

Please let me know if there are any questions or if I can be of assistance in any way possible.

Philip Littman
Sales Executive, U.S. Savings Bond Div.
Dept. of the Treasury
New York, NY

Mr. Poole replies: I'm afraid you don't understand what a libertarian magazine is all about. We, like our readers, believe that at least 90 percent of what the Federal government is doing is illegitimate, and that none of it should be financed by taxes taken from people without their individual, voluntary consent. That includes taxes used to pay off government bond holders.

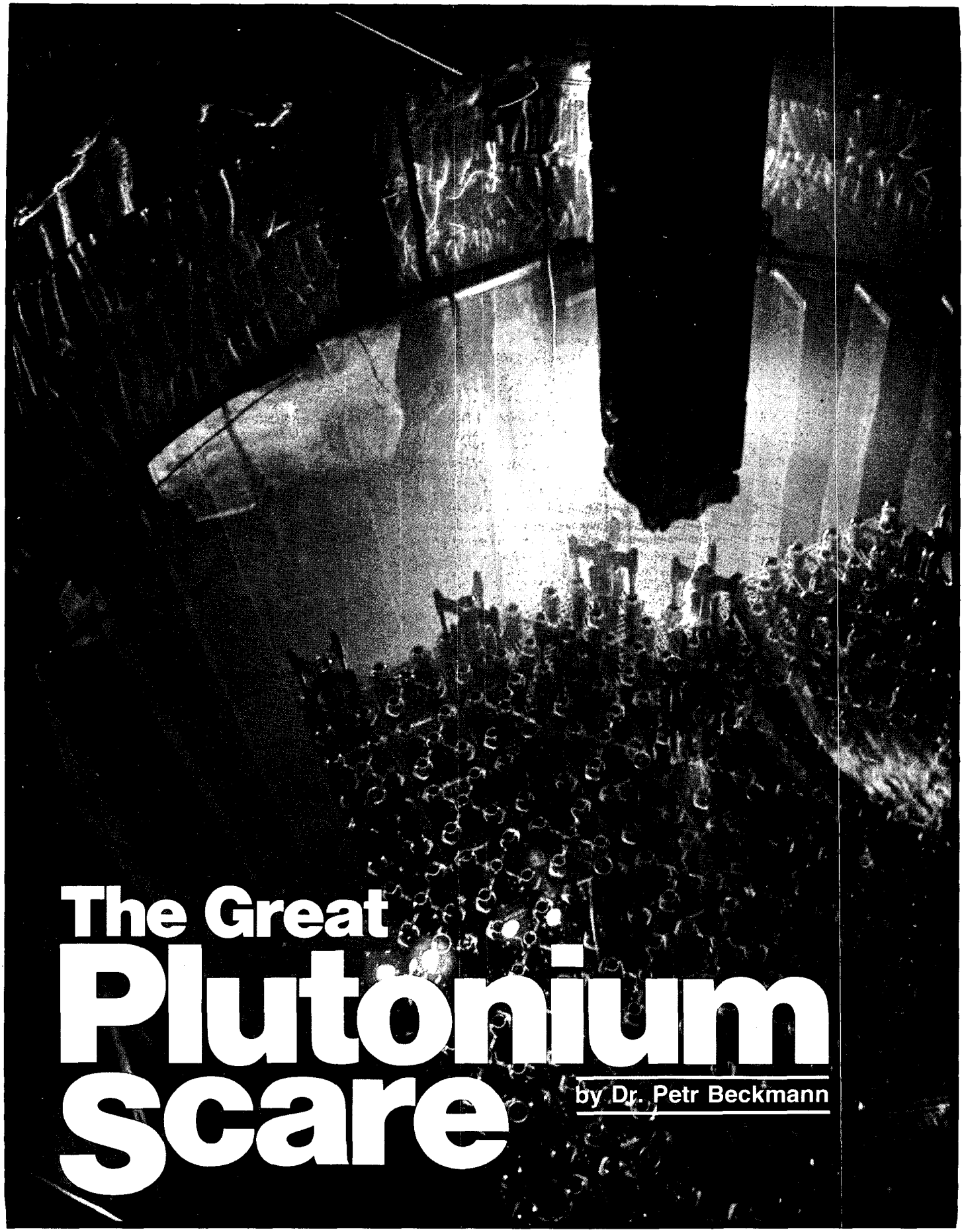
In addition, our readers are a good bit more sophisticated than the average beer-guzzling, TV-watching non-thinker. Were they to see ads urging them to buy savings bonds in our publication, we would lose a great deal of our credibility with them. They are interested in protecting themselves against inflation, not in being victimized by it.

Please spare us the trouble of discarding your monthly mailings, and save the taxpayers the postage expense.—**RP**

Militia Effectiveness

Joseph Major's letter [March] regarding a libertarian military makes a number of interesting points. I believe he is basically correct when he states that "Guerillas have never defeated an organized army by themselves; they simply lack the logistics, the equipment, the training and the organization." If those things are supplied to them, however, I believe that a guerilla-militia can defeat a regular army.

The Swiss militia, backed up by the logistics, the equipment, etc. of the Swiss military system, defeated the most formidable military machine in Europe in the early 1940's: Nazi Germany. The Germans' decision not to invade Switzerland was a direct result of the Swiss' well-publicized intentions in the event of an invasion and the German estimates of the Swiss military's ability to back them up. Germany would have been able to capture Switzerland, but their casualties would have been extremely heavy (one estimate places them high enough to have lost the war in Russia) and the Swiss *Continued on p. 49.*



The Great Plutonium Scare

by Dr. Petr Beckmann

The "most toxic substance known to man" is far more valuable than gold.

The Ford Foundation, this country's most lavishly funded promoter of ideological economics, recently issued a report recommending abandonment of the nuclear breeder reactor program.

The last time this institution sponsored a $4 million energy report, it was described by Armen Alchian, professor of economics at the University of California, as one that "enters the *Guinness Book of Records* for the most errors of economic analysis and fact in one book, is arrogant in its assertions of waste and inefficiency, is paternalist on its conception of energy consumption management, is politically naive, and uses demagoguery."

The present report gives the semblance of cool objectivity, but its arguments are largely contradictory, irrelevant, and forcibly recruited to bolster a preconceived and erroneous conclusion—that plutonium technology in the electric power industry must result in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It took the Carter administration less than three weeks to swallow the recommendations of the report lock, stock, and plutonium scare to justify a policy of "nuclear power yes, breeders no."

Such a strategy is politically highly expedient. Solar energy, windmills, and fumaroles make popular conversation pieces, but for providing energy by the thousands of megawatts, there are only two near-term solutions: coal and nuclear. While it is easy for the armchair strategists to call for a ban on nuclear energy, no politician who will be held responsible if the electric power runs out can even toy with such a thought. Yet, by stopping the breeder program, he can show that he is not really pronuclear and save his image among the public opinion molders in the mass media.

To be pronuclear but antibreeder is, of course, much the same thing as being proeating but antiswallowing. There is a reprieve however: the blunder of letting several centuries' worth of energy go to waste will not come home with its full vengeance for another decade—so let some other president worry. Hence "nuclear yes, breeder no" makes for highly expedient politics.

But it doesn't make for serious energy strategy.

NUCLEAR YES

The "nuclear yes" part of the Ford Foundation report is rather halfhearted. Certainly the authors are to be commended for comparing the risks of nuclear power with those of fossil fuels, particularly coal—a comparison that the nuclear foes abhor and evade at all costs, because it is so favorable for nuclear power. But the comparision is made here with two very different yardsticks. For nuclear power, the authors consider what *might* happen; for other energy sources, only what *has* happened, and even that with some very striking omissions. They do not consider the record of nuclear power long enough to provide an adequate basis for risk prediction, in which case they would have done well to look at some of the things that have happened with orthodox power sources during the same short time: a dam disaster killed 2,000 in Italy in 1963; an air pollution episode (mostly due to coal-fired plants) killed 3,900 Londoners in 1952; liquid-natural gas tank explosions took 33 lives in 1973, and in 1944, shortly before the era of nuclear power, there were 133 dead in Cleveland, Ohio; and plenty more has happened in the period deemed too short for nuclear power.

Instead, the authors speculate on what *might* happen in a major nuclear accident and reassure us with the comforting thought that such an accident might not be out of line with other disasters, such as hurricanes.

Why hurricanes? Do we have a choice of either generating nuclear electricity or falling victim to a hurricane? The logical counterpart to what *might* happen in a nuclear accident is what might happen in an accident with energy sources that nuclear power can replace. How many thousands would have died in New York City from the smoke of the oil fire in January 1976 if the wind had not blown it out to sea? How many tens of thousands would have died in Los Angeles if the hydroelectric dam above the San Fernando Valley had not been empty in the earthquake of February 1971?

The authors never ask. They speculate how many lives might be lost, but not how many saved, by nuclear power. Their most pessimistic assumptions are reserved exclusively for nuclear energy. Even so, they conclude: "With very pessimistic assumptions, even when the possibility of reactor accidents is included, the adverse health effects of nuclear power are less than or within the range of health effects from coal.... Nuclear power has significantly less environmental impact than coal."

One could point out more condemnations by faint praise in the "nuclear yes" part of the report; but its real punch is in the "breeder no" part.

THE BREEDER AT WORK

The basic concept of breeder reactors rests on the following:

There are four isotopes capable of sustaining a chain reaction that releases nuclear fission energy; uranium 233, uranium 235, plutonium 239, and plutonium 241. Of these, only one occurs in nature, U-235—and that only as a minute fraction (0.7%) of the uranium in uranium

ore; the rest is U-238, which is not fissionable.

Now 0.7% is not enough for reactor fuel, and in a costly process (costly both in dollars and energy), the uranium must be "enriched" so that the fraction of the fissionable U-235 in it is increased to about 3.5%. The remaining 99.3% of the uranium, U-238, at present simply goes to waste.

The U-238 now going to waste could provide the energy now imported as OPEC oil for 700 years.

Fortunately, the other three fissionable isotopes can be produced, or bred, from "fertile" isotopes abundant in nature. There are two such fertile isotopes: thorium 232 and uranium 238—the latter the one that now goes to waste. Thorium can be bred into U-233; U-238 into plutonium.

The beauty of breeding nuclear fuel is that it does not, like uranium enrichment, use energy; on the contrary, it produces it. A breeder not only converts fertile material into fissionable fuel; it produces energy at the same time.

This is not science fiction or even a "next century" perspective. The United States has had a small experimental breeder reactor in successful operation in Idaho Falls since 1964. Britain is close to putting a demonstration plant into operation; the USSR already has one; and France has a breeder on line supplying power to the public utility net. The last has been in commercial operation since July 1974, with a reliability superior to conventional nuclear plants.

The possibilities of the breeder boggle the mind. Consider just this single aspect: if no more than the uranium tailings (U-238) now going to waste in storage vessels around the country were used as breeder fuel, they could provide the energy now imported as OPEC oil for *700 years.*

HOW MUCH URANIUM?

There are more than 200,000 tons of such "waste," that is, uranium depleted of its fissionable U-235 content, stored in steel vessels at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and elsewhere. These neatly packaged, above-ground, ready-for-use supplies could be converted to fuel in a breeder of the type that France already has in operation.

As for the total U.S. uranium reserves, they may not last much longer than the end of the century if only the fissionable U-235 is used and the remainder is wasted. But if all of it is utilized by means of breeders, the supply amounts to 10 times as much energy as is contained in all of U.S. coal reserves—a supply for centuries.

Against this vast conservation potential stands the objection that the production of plutonium in the civilian sector would encourage terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The corresponding arguments given by the report are often erroneous and always irrelevant; but even if they were sound, the vast potential for energy conservation might make it well worth the risks: clearly, anyone who advocates conservation by mandatory taxes for heavier (and inherently safer) cars while rejecting several centuries' worth of assured energy supplies is playing politics.

It should be pointed out that not all critics of nuclear power are reckless superstition mongers who attack nuclear power on the point that constitutes one of its main attractions—its safety. Knowledgeable people, while well aware of this attraction, believe that the known U.S. uranium reserves may not be sufficient to fuel the planned nuclear reactors for the rest of this century. Such concerns are shared by few in industry and government, but resource estimation is a tricky business and the warning cannot be rejected out of hand.

The authors of the report are not worried, however. These pessimists have suddenly been converted to the rosiest optimism: "The current assessment of uranium reserves probably substantially understates the supplies that will become available." The reason better estimates are not now available seems to be that they are now "entirely dependent on private efforts to locate, define, and report reserves." Presumably, such efforts become more reliable in the hands of government bureaucrats.

PLUTONIUM SAFETY

The usual verses of the plutonium litany, "the most toxic substance known to man" and "the fearsome fuel toxic beyond human experience" are mercifully absent from the report. But even without going through the fashionable ritual, the authors arrive at the mandatory final ceremony—reading the breeder program out of nuclear power; an exercise more common, but not less absurd, than reading food production out of agriculture. The reason is plutonium: specifically, its alleged dangers in waste disposal, terrorism, and proliferation.

Plutonium is the substance that contains more energy per unit of volume than any other; as such, its discovery may one day be ranked with the subjugation of fire and the discovery of the wheel—both of which also can be, and have been, abused for evil purposes.

Both its toxicity and its suitability for sabotage turn out to be something of a letdown after all the adverse publicity. Plutonium is an alpha emitter; its radiation will not penetrate a newspaper page, much less the human skin (except through an open wound), a marked difference from radioactive substances emitting penetrating gamma rays.

It is toxic when eaten, but only about ten times more (by weight) than the caffeine in coffee, and hundreds of thousands of times less toxic than some chemical and biological poisons. Its main danger is in being inhaled in dust form, for fine particles of it can lodge in the lung and cause lung cancer—some 15 to 45 years after inhalation. But even in this respect, it is less dangerous than some radioactive substances produced by nature (such as radium).

The decade-long delay of its effects, together with the fact that (unlike chemical and biological toxins) miniscule amounts of it can be detected due to its radioactivity, makes plutonium dispersal utterly unsuited for terrorism or extortion (threatening hostages).

Between three and five tons of plutonium have been committed to the atmosphere in bomb tests; 25 workers of the Manhattan Project during World War II received 25 times the presently allowed body burden without ill effects; many tons of plutonium have been handled in the weapons program; yet not a single death has ever been traced to plutonium inhalation.

Many tons of plutonium have also been handled and successfully guarded against illicit use in the weapons industry, and without giving rise to a police state. Perhaps more important, they have also been produced, recovered, purified, fabricated, stored, and transported for more than 35 years by methods whose analogue in the commercial sector incurs the Ford report's comment:

> "much more difficult and expensive than anticipated."

RECYCLING PLUTONIUM

The plutonium recycling technique has, in itself, little to do with the breeder program, for the recycled plutonium can be burned in presently used conventional nuclear power reactors (as well as in commerical breeder reactors of the future).

As the fissionable U-235 burns up in

This article is adapted from "Making Plutonium A Soviet Monopoly," published by United States Industrial Council, P.O. Box 2686, Nashville, TN 37219.

the fuel rods of a conventional reactor, it not only produces wastes but also converts some of the fertile U-238 into plutonium, some of which, in turn, is consumed and releases energy that is eventually converted into electricity.

Yes, that's right: plutonium is already generating electricity here and now—if the power in your home is generated by a nuclear plant, up to one third of it comes, not from uranium, but from plutonium.

But not all of the plutonium (or U-235, for that matter) is consumed. Long before the fissionable materials burn up, the rods become poisoned with wastes and prevent the total burn-up of the fuel. By a process well tested and proven in both the United States and Europe, though not yet legalized for commercial use, the remaining fuel can be extracted (leaving only 1% to go to waste) and fabricated into fresh fuel rods. In particular, the recovered plutonium can be either stored for future use in breeders or, of more immediate interest, combined with uranium in a "mixed oxide" fuel (which can't be made to explode) for use in current reactors.

A commercial Allied Chemical plant at Barnwell, South Carolina, now stands ready and waiting to do the job. The fact that it is seeking government support not only has nothing to do with technical feasibility but is, above all, a result of the uncertain climate surrounding nuclear ventures (and, indeed all large-scale energy projects), which makes investors reluctant to finance them. To attack the process on economic grounds is, as so often with nuclear issues, the tactic of the parenticide who asks the court for mercy on the grounds that he is an orphan.

Recycling, if used for fuel in current reactors, will reduce the requirement for mined uranium by 22.5%; and if used for breeder operation, that requirement is reduced to a mere 1%.

The alternative recommended by the Ford Foundation report is to dispose of the used fuel rods without the benefit of recycling. This does not merely waste energy; it also sharply reduces one of the great advantages of nuclear power—the minute volume of waste per unit of generated energy. Reprocessing shrinks the waste volume to be managed by no less than 80% compared with the "throw-away" disposal of spent fuel recommended by the report.

The reason the authors oppose plutonium recycling and the breeder is, if one were to take them seriously, threefold: poor economics, the threat of terrorism, and the threat of nuclear weapons proliferation. But a closer reading makes it clear that what really worries them is the purely political question of proliferation; the other two are used to supply additional arguments—awkwardly forced ones, as it turns out.

ADDING UP THE FIGURES

Plutonium is worth about $19 a gram, or about three times as much as gold. Economists who propose that the stuff be left in a cooling pool and then buried forever on the grounds that "any net economic benefit during this century is questionable" would seem to be in need of a pocket calculator.

The stockpile of uranium tailings already stored and ready for use as fertile breeder fuel, if valued at the price of an equivalent amount of coal, represents a fuel asset of $20 trillion. *$20 trillion.* A billion here or there for the breeder program is laughable by comparison, and economists who write that "the early economic potential of the breeder has been significantly overstated" would again seem to be in need of a calculator—a 13-digit calculator this time.

More disturbing, perhaps, is the report's general attitude toward economic issues. While paying lip service to free enterprise, it calls, in fact, for more government regulation or outright control at every step: "The present argument for private ownership of new [enrichment] capacity is not persuasive. . . . The government should retain control of both enrichment facilities and new enrichment techonologies." It also freely decrees what is economic and what isn't: "The prospect of a large export market for breeders in this century is illusory," we are told.

Perhaps so. In that case, it used to be, the marketing research of competent corporations would warn their executives to stay out, while less competent corporations would pay a grievous price for their faulty judgment. The "invisible hand" would guide the competent to prosperity and the incompetent into bankruptcy.

No longer. Now the Ford Foundation determines what is profitable and what is illusory, and the all too visible hand of government will rudely interfere.

TERRORISM THE HARD WAY

The plutonium oxide used in breeders or obtainable from mixed oxide fuel by a complicated process of chemical separation is not what is used in military weapons; but it is, in pure theory, a feasible nuclear explosive. That a dedicated group of highly expert specialists—in the fields of nuclear physics, metallurgy, radiation protection, chemical high-explosives, machining, and many branches of criminal activity—should waste its talent for many months on fashioning a crude nuclear device rather than inflicting heavier losses by far easier methods is an idea worthy of blood-curdling TV fantasies (sometimes masquerading as "documentaries"). The authors of the report do not seem overly impressed by it. They commendably point out that a completed weapon would make a more convenient target of theft; and there have been no difficulties in guarding such weapons against illicit use in the last 30 years.

What the report does not say is that with breeder technology (as the French experience has shown), the chance of plutonium theft is very slim, because the amount of plutonium produced by a breeder can be matched to the demand by conventional reactors. There need never be any plutonium in surplus storage.

While in the reactor core or breeder blanket the plutonium is utterly inaccessible for illicit use, in transport to the reactor it is not liable to clandestine theft but at best to forceful robbery, which can almost certainly be prevented by small escorts and appropriate technology (trucks that can be rendered immobile and inaccessible in a matter of seconds).

IF IN DOUBT, LEAVE IT OUT

There are two major omissions in the discussion of the breeder program, which are especially serious in a discussion that tries to make a case against the breeder on the grounds of plutonium hazards.

The first is that the authors consider only the plutonium breeder, never mentioning the other fertile fuel, thorium, which can be bred into uranium 233. U-233, like U-235, can undergo a nuclear explosion if sufficiently pure. It can be diluted with U-238, however, to form a mixture that cannot be made to explode, and once that is done it is impossible to separate the two components chemically.

Not a single death has ever been traced to plutonium inhalation.

The thorium cycle is proven and has a number of advantages: while the plutonium breeder could extend the fuel supply for centuries, the thorium cycle could extend it for millenia. There are also a number of disadvantages, for example, the thousands of tons of depleted uranium now piling up and being stored around the country would still go to waste, and thorium mining has not been developed. In any case, the study's recommendations on the breeder program, which range into the next century, do not mention the thorium cycle at all.

The other fatal flaw of the breeder discussion is its assumption that the

plutonium for fueling the breeder must be produced in the same way as bomb-grade plutonium.

Not so. The fission products in the spent fuel rods make the plutonium in them unworkable for both bombs and conventional reactors, but they do not stop the fast-neutron breeder action. The highly radioactive spent fuel rods need only some cooling before their contents are removed in remotely controlled chambers and reassembled into new rods for the breeders. This "dry" method was, in fact, used for several years in the experimental breeder reactor now running in Idaho Falls.

Locked inside the highly radioactive and hot fuel rods, the plutonium is, of course, utterly inaccessible to diversion and quite useless for anything but fresh breeder fuel. That the report should have omitted this point is, at best, sloppy, but quite possibly dishonest.

PROLIFERATION

The awkwardly labored arguments against plutonium technology, whether in reprocessing or breeding, are evidently meant to form the artificial pillars for the real point to be made: the prevention of proliferation, that is, the acquisition of nuclear weapons by countries that do not now have them. This, to the authors, is "by far the most serious danger associated with nuclear power."

Proliferation is, of course, a purely political problem, and the authors' political viewpoint is naive to an extent that borders on the humorous. (But the laughter dies in one's throat on remembering that one of the signers, Harold Brown, has since become Secretary of Defense.)

What the convoluted argument of the report amounts to on this point is: let's lay off plutonium; if we set a good example, the rest of the world will lay off it also, and there will be no material for bombs. Let advanced nuclear technology, fuel supplies, and enrichment capacity be controlled by an international organization (such as that pillar of justice and effectiveness, the United Nations), and developing countries will find no country willing to let them have potential weapons material—well, not more than a dozen or so, anyway.

The fact that this type of argument defies all rationality need not necessarily be fatal; the real point is whether it will be embraced by the rulers of the Soviet Empire. But will it? Is the country that tears up treaties to invade its own allies likely to keep treaties with its adversaries? And even among countries that recognize the sanctity of contract, will West Germany break its word to Brazil to supply a uranium enrichment plant? Will France, which has long since overtaken the United States in breeder technology, dismantle its *Phénix* breeder and stop construction of its *Superphénix*? Will Britain, Germany, and Japan (all of which have made significant commitments to reprocessing and breeder technology, and lack U.S. energy alternatives) wipe out decades of effort for the sake of a naive and ineffective public-relations stunt?

The facts of proliferation are sad and simple. Perhaps the most important of them here is that proliferation has little, if anything, to do with power generation. Plutonium can be bred from the abundant supplies of U-238 scattered throughout the world without going to the considerable trouble of generating electric power at the same time. Nor is plutonium the only nuclear explosive. Uranium can be enriched to bomb-grade levels; while it is not simple enough to be used in a clandestine garage, it is essentially attainable by countries with only moderately advanced technology. And laser enrichment, as yet realized only on a minute scale in the laboratory, may eventually arrive.

Nuclear proliferation has little, if anything, to do with power generation.

The point that the link between nuclear weapons and nuclear power is tenuous or nonexistent is made quite well by the authors of the report themselves: "The United States is not in a position to stop the expansion of nuclear power. Moreover, advanced countries, and some developing countries, are not dependent on nuclear power to produce nuclear weapons. None of the present nuclear weapons states developed its weapons through nuclear power. Each followed the direct path of producing the fissionable materials in facilities designed specifically for the purpose."

"Despite this...," they continue. But despite what? There follows a long exercise in mental acrobatics; but there can be, and there is no, "despite." They have said it well enough.

WEAPONS WITHOUT POWER

The tenuous link between power and weaponry consists, perhaps, in having the scientific expertise and the general industrial base necessary for both fields; but if a country wished to produce fissionable material in secret, it would hardly choose the power industry as a disguise. It would be the obvious place to look, and in most countries it is also subject to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

But why in secret? What is to stop the USSR from selling fissionable material to African groups that have been promoted to the status of "national liberation movements," as they are already selling them weaponry? Only the paper of the Nonproliferation Treaty and the honor of the Soviet Politburo. In the case of Communist China, not even that.

What the Ford Foundation suggests in this area that is totally unrelated to nuclear electric power is not merely unilateral disarmament; it falls little short of capitulation to the Soviet refusal to limit strategic arms on any but their own terms, to their policy of going feverishly nuclear while fanning opposition to nuclear power in Western Europe and Australia, and to their policy of stepping in with nuclear supplies when the United States will not or cannot provide them.

As a "barrier to proliferation" the report proposes unilateral U.S. "deemphasis of nuclear weapons in military policy, particularly doctrines that present nuclear weapons as acceptable and necessary armaments for limited application or political pressure."

Now, to deemphasize nuclear weapons in military policy is as strange as deemphasizing jet planes in aviation policy, but stranger still is the reference to a purported doctrine of using nuclear weapons for political pressure. To this writer's knowledge, such a doctrine never existed in the Pentagon; where such an accusation can be found with monotonous regularity is on the pages of *Pravda*.

When the United States found itself short of enrichment capacity in 1974 and refused to enter into further long-term enrichment contracts with Western Europe and Japan, the USSR was quick to step forward: "Bring us your uranium, friends, and we will enrich it for you." The episode led to (unsuccessful) efforts to increase U.S. enrichment capacity, to accelerated efforts by other countries (Western Europe and South Africa) to develop their own enrichment capability, and to efforts by purchasing countries (Brazil and others) to look for more reliable sources of uranium enrichment.

That's the way, the report seems to say. U.S. enrichment capacity, says the report, is now quite sufficient, and "the fact that a number of countries will be able to furnish enrichment services should provide further confidence of assured supplies." The total free world capacity will soon be more than needed, it claims, and as a clincher, it adds: "The Soviet Union also has excess capacity and is selling enrichment services to the world market." So rest assured, ye breeder-bent and fuel-hungry: your energy future lies in the trustworthy

hands of the Soviet Politburo.

TO STOP PROLIFERATION

If there is a way to prevent proliferation and terrorism other than cringing from leadership and responsibility, the report does not mention it. Which is not to say there is no way.

A political problem must be solved by political means—as the authors of this contradiction-ridden report quite rightly observe before advocating technological-ostrichism as a cop-out. What has given the world a feeling of insecurity and what has emboldened terrorists, blackmailers, and the rulers of the Soviet Empire is not the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder but the softness and defeatism of the West.

A country that cringes from the benefits of its largest energy reserve will cringe from more painful responsibilities, and an insecure world may well look for better security in nuclear weapons. A country that understands energy policy as the optimum compromise in a popularity contest will not have the respect of either allies or adversaries; it will lose its energy, and its self-respect in the bargain. A government that lets a billion-dollar nuclear plant be put in limbo to accommodate vociferous obstructionists ostensibly seeking to protect clam larvae is no match for nuclear terrorists, and the lesson will not be lost on them.

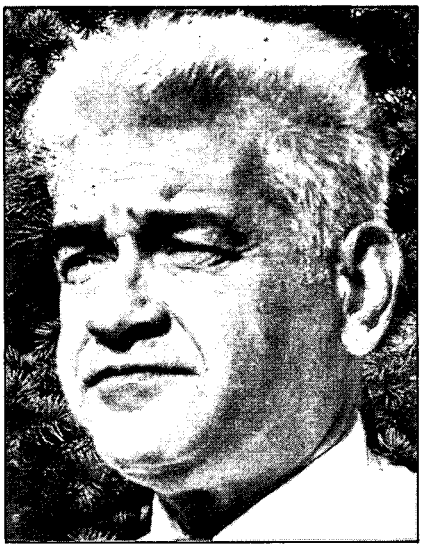
What is needed, if one wants to talk proliferation (rather than nuclear electric power), is a little spine: a no-nonsense policy that says: Yes, we want to have the full benefits of nuclear energy, and we will face up to our full responsibilities; we will share both with our allies and give them stronger security than nuclear bombs can provide; we shall spare no effort to make plutonium technology safe and to keep it out of terrorists hands; but should we fail on occasions, we will pay the price and refuse to budge, knowing that a small concession today means unbearable losses tomorrow.

That is language tyrants and terrorists understand, but it is not spoken by those who know only appeasement, retreat, and capitulation.

None of which has even the slightest connection with the technological aspects of nuclear power; it is the Ford Foundation's study that attempts to bludgeon the two into a mismatched marriage.

What is one to make of this document, couched in seemingly cool objectivity, but in fact consisting of arguments convolved into a verbose string of erroneous and contradictory irrelevance?

In the Middle Ages, the wheel was used as an instrument of torture and execution. What a pity the Ford Foundation was not around in the Stone Age to commission a study: it might have had sufficient wisdom to propose the banning of the wheel. ◧



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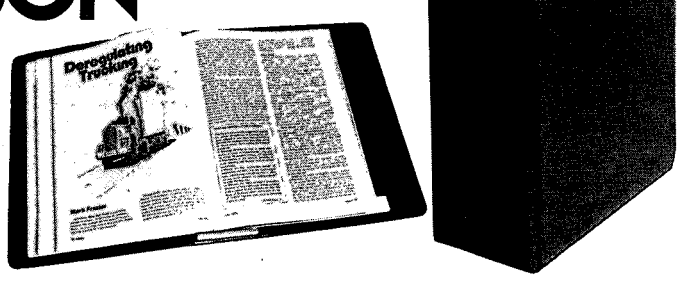

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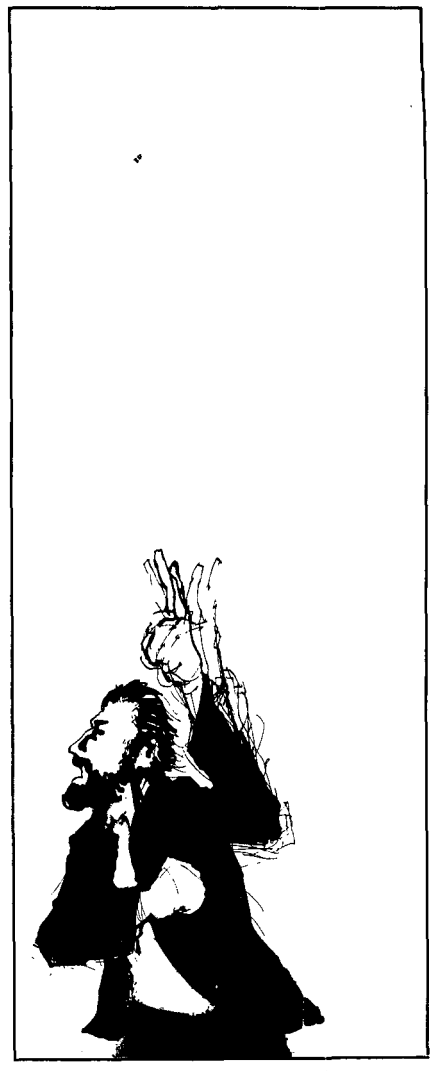


Anita Bryant and the Gay Rights Movement have both missed the point.

by Robert Sirico

It wasn't only the weather that was heating up as April turned into May in Dade County, Florida. What started out as a protest against a local ordinance turned into a knockdown and dragout that put Dade County on the national media map. With Anita Bryant on one side and the gay movement on the other, the lines were firmly drawn. When the day of reckoning came, 45 percent of the voters —a record for a Dade special election—had taken sides. Miss Bryant's forces won, hands down. Dade County cooled off after the vote on June 7, but with both sides of the battle there vowing to blitz the country with similar campaigns, things are just warming up.

WHOSE RIGHTS?

Put simply, the Floridian tempest in a tea pot surrounded the issue of rights.

The former Miss America and spokeswoman for the Florida Citrus Commission claimed that her rights were violated when the Dade County Metropolitan Commission voted 5-3 to prohibit private employers from discriminating against people on the basis of "sexual preference." For their part, gay spokespersons, in response to Miss Bryant's concern for the moral atmosphere the Dade County ordinance might create, claimed that the legislation was necessary to insure "job rights" for homosexuals.

It may well be that the situation in Dade County was only a prelude to bigger things to come. Rep. Edward I. Koch (D-NY) is proposing an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that would tack on "sexual orientation or affectional preference" to the existing list of "thou shalt not discriminate" characteristics. Koch's legislation would affect all private employment and "public accommodations" nationwide.

Trust William Raspberry, who in a *Washington Post* editorial observed that "anyone who tells you the question is easy is not to be trusted." The matter is complicated by the propensity, on both sides, to link up the question of "job rights" and the question of the right of consenting adults to engage in various types of sexual activity. In fact, a number of things were *not* the issue, even though they entered into the Florida debate.

NONISSUES GALORE

First, whether or not homosexuality is immoral is irrelevant, for a variety of reasons. Miss Bryant is fond of quoting verses from the Bible without acknowledging the fact that some people don't accept its moral teaching, while others have different interpretations of the verses quoted. Besides, is it the proper function of government to legislate morality? If Miss Bryant can make use of the strong arm of the State to enforce her moral doctrines, what principle would prevent Jehovah's Witnesses from making blood transfusions illegal? or Christian Scientists from outlawing the medical profession? But Miss Bryant should know, anyway, that the Christian doctrine of free will is violated if people are not permitted to choose "sin." Again, however, the morality question is irrelevant so long as coercion is absent.

Another issue raised by Miss Bryant at the outset of her campaign was the recruitment of children by homosexuals, or child molestation. Miss Bryant's reason-

ing was that since "only parents can reproduce... in order to survive and sustain their lifestyle they [homosexuals] are going to have to recruit." Joseph Fitzgerald, an attorney for the Catholic Archdiocese of Miami, chimed in with the comparison of letting homosexuals hold teaching positions to "putting a fox in the chicken coop."

Facts demolish this prevalent stereotype. Los Angeles Police Department statistics show beyond a shadow of a doubt that the vast majority of both misdemeanor and felony child molestation cases involve heterosexual men with little girls. Moreover, in most cases the males were friends or members of the molested child's family. Again, this is not the issue to be debated. If *anyone* forces any other person into a sexual act, the victim has unquestionably had his or her rights violated.

But Miss Bryant changed her tune in the course of the battle. At first, she was vociferous about the connection between homosexuals and child recruitment, but towards the end she gave indication of having been confronted with reality. The *Los Angeles Times* of May 3 quotes her as saying: "I'm concerned about how it might influence the children. I don't mean in terms of child molestation—I know that homosexuals are not more likely to be child molesters than anybody else. I don't even mean in terms of actually encouraging children to be homosexuals. I mean people who are role models being able to stand up and say 'I'm homosexual and I'm proud of it'—implying for our children that they have another legitimate choice open to them."

So Miss Bryant was concerned about two things: the moral atmosphere her children grow up in; and homosexuals being open about their sexuality, at least in role-model positions. Did Miss Bryant seek to calm these concerns by preventing employers from hiring gay people? She did not say. Thus, for the time being, it too is not the issue. She only sought to repeal an ordinance that would prevent private employers from choosing *not* to hire gay people. She did not campaign for an ordinance that would prohibit employers from hiring a gay person if they wanted to.

The final question that was irrelevant in Dade County—but debated nonetheless—was the legality of homosexuality. Neither Miss Bryant and her cohorts nor gay spokespersons made any distinction between prohibiting a private employer from discriminating against a gay person by withholding a job, and the question of the right of consenting independent individuals to engage in sexual activity. "When the act of homosexuality is no longer illegal it might even get to the point where it would be normal, and straight heterosexual life, as God instituted it, would be abnormal. That's a very fearful thing," Miss Bryant declared.

Leaders of the gay movement, too, wrapped both questions into one package. They were concerned that there could well be a reaction against their job rights demand that would include a reinstatement of "sodomy laws" (in fact, many states still maintain these laws). In offering this package deal, it is these very leaders who have set up the gay community for such a pogrom. Even if the issues were the same, which they emphatically are not, wise political strategy would dictate handling them separately.

UNDEFINED RIGHTS

What was the real question in Dade County? In the broadest terms, both sides agreed—the issue revolved around rights. Miss Bryant claimed that her rights as a parent were violated, and gay spokespeople insisted that their "job rights" must be protected. But with the question of rights so essential, the absence of either side's attempt to define what they meant was strange indeed.

The Declaration of Independence puts it down in black and white that there are certain inalienable rights that each person has, among them, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Significantly, rights differ from the *favors* a society may grant, a favor being a goodwill gesture that can be withdrawn upon the decline of goodwill. A right, on the other hand, exists independently of goodwill and does not proceed from society. (This is one of the basic political differences between collectivist and capitalist economic systems.)

Without the right to life, no other right can exist. And what are our lives but the time, labor, effort, and ability that we put into our existence? So it is only proper and logical that we have the right to the products of our lives—that is, the right to property.

An ongoing attempt of the gay movement (as well as the other social-change movements) is to amalgamate "job rights" with the right to work, that is, the right to offer one's services to potential buyers. But this is nothing less than Orwellian double-think, for it is an attempt to espouse and implement contradictory concepts.

The idea that people have a right to a job presupposes that someone else has an obligation to provide that job. As Ayn Rand succinctly points out in "Man's Rights": "Any alleged 'right' of one man, which necessitates the violation of the right of another, is not and cannot be a right. No man can have a right to impose an unchosen obligation, an unrewarded duty or an involuntary servitude on another man. There can be no such thing as 'the right to enslave.'" The ordinance passed by the Dade County Metropolitan Commission, as well-intentioned as it may have been, was an attempt to allege just such a right.

GAYS AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

The right to work, on the other hand, is indeed a valid right, for it is a clear function and implementation of the right to life and in no way enslaves anyone. This right would possibly be violated if a legislative body were to block a school's hiring a gay person.

Ah, the touchy subject of schools! The thing that confuses the issue is not the employment of homosexuals but the very existence of public schools, which are funded by all tax-paying citizens. *Of course*, Anita Bryant has the right not to have her children taught by homosexuals —or by anyone else not of her choosing, for that matter—provided she places them in a school paid for by herself and those of like mind. But as long as homosexuals are forced to subsidize education through their tax monies, they should be given equal consideration for employment in those schools. The thing that compounds the situation is not homosexual teachers but public schools.

At this point, gay people may come back with a plausible question: If an employer is permitted to fire me from my job for no other reason than that I am gay, what happens to my right to the pursuit of happiness? Please note, however, that the Declaration of Independence does not, and in fact realistically could not, guarantee that attainment of happiness, but only the right to pursue it. What is happiness for one may be sheer misery to another.

Those within the gay movement who are so strenuously advocating "fair employment legislation" would do well to consider the following questions: How could legislation be the key to ending oppression, for what assurance is there that the law enacted will be effective? Why should the National Gay Lobby spend the planned $100,000 to get the Koch Bill passed if it may only be a token achievement? Even if the legislation were passed, what would prevent an employer from firing a gay person and giving another reason as the excuse? If such legislation were uniformly enforced, what would happen to the right of a gay property owner to withhold his or her property from use by a blatantly antigay person? As gay businesses begin to prosper, should they—wouldn't they—be forced into hiring people with a mentality like that of the current police chief of Los

Angeles (who is rabidly antigay), although qualified for the position to be filled? And if gay businesses were forced to employ such people, how long would it be before they would lose their gay clientele?

GAY LOVE VS GAY JOBS

Gay activists have fought some tough battles, notably, in getting the archaic and repressive laws that restrict consensual sexual activity repealed. But contrast the arguments used there with those needed to support laws such as the Koch Bill. Take the California State Senate debate over the Willie Brown Bill, which repealed that state's prohibitions against any sexual activities (including those engaged in by married, heterosexual couples) outside of the missionary-position variety.

The arguments in favor of the bill were as follows: The right of privacy is a basic American right, and the State has no authority sticking its head into the bedroom of consenting adults. Individuals' bodies are their property to do with as they please, and society should have neither the interest nor the say-so in the matter.

Legislation is a form of education like a subpeona is a species of party invitation.

Those arguing against the Brown Bill: The moral fiber of our land is being eroded by the increased immorality about us. Historically, homosexuality was present in Rome and Greece prior to their downfall. In the Old Testament God destroyed Sodom and Gommorrah for it. Homosexuality is immoral and wrong and should not be approved by society.

One thing is patently clear. When gay activists and organizations support "fair employment practices legislation," they do so only by contradicting the very principle articulated in the battle to make gay love legal.

In the argument *for* the Brown Bill, it is said that privacy is a basic right and that those who own property (in this case, their bodies) have the right to do with it as they choose, with the provision that when it involves another person, that other person be a consenting partner. Notice also the argument to limit the power of the government in the affairs of its citizens.

In order to defend the Koch Bill, a complete reversal of principles is required. Now it becomes necessary to talk about "public accommodations," even though they are privately owned. By the same token, it must be argued that an employer should not be permitted to use and dispose of his or her property as he or she wishes and is thus made to be an unconsenting partner. Thus, State power in this circumstance is comparable to rape. Both depend on the use of force and require an unwilling partner. *Rape is the sexual expression of collectivist economics.*

OPPOSING IMMORALITY

Now gay activists may be on to *some*thing. For it is plausible that it is morally wrong for an employer arbitrarily to discriminate against a gay person. But are gays now prepared to believe in the legislation of morality? What much of the gay leadership fails to understand is that in fighting against the right of job owners to control their property, they are in principle also fighting against the right of gay people to practice their lifestyle. The fundamental issue is the same —*property rights.*

Suppose we got people to agree that discrimination in employment on the basis of non-job-related characteristics is immoral and unfair. And it is agreed that it would be equally immoral to obstruct the right of an employer to control his or her property. What is the solution?

An answer to this question requires, for one thing, an examination of why some people discriminate and why they have homophobic (antigay) prejudices. Anita Bryant is a good example. She has stated that she fears the influence upon her children. Other people think that gays are unstable or psychologically ill. But the fact of the matter is that there are no studies that scientifically show that gay people are either ill or unstable, and we certainly know that child molestation is much more a heterosexual than a homosexual problem.

The point being that the cure for homophobia is a potent dose of education. But people cannot be educated by force.

Consider the ultimate effects of *argumentum ad baculum* (argument by the club). While parents may know that squash is good for their child and may taste good if prepared properly, strapping a child into a chair and cramming squash down its throat will only succeed in creating a revulsion for squash, sometimes for the rest of that child's life. Rather than helping the child to become aware of the benefits of the vegetable, the parents would have accomplished the exact opposite.

The same is true of those who make negative, collective evaluations of gay people. Using the law (the club) to violate their property rights will not correct their mistaken ideas and may well serve to reinforce their hatred. Indeed, at least some of the antigay sentiments expressed in Dade County were probably reactions only to being told "to hire gays or else."

PRIVATE PERSUASION

Education is volitional by nature; legislation could not be any more the opposite. Although many reformers harbor the sentiment that education can be achieved through legislation, in fact it is a form of education like a subpeona is a species of party invitation.

There neither exists, nor is there a need for, legislation in Los Angeles to prevent private employers from discriminating against gays. The fact that the majority of Angelenos are knowledgeable about the subject of homosexuality, due to the visibility of the gay community, has gone a long way toward creating a more relaxed and fair-minded atmosphere. Besides, if a person were fired from his or her job for being gay, an effective boycott could easily be organized to encourage people voluntarily to withdraw their economic support from the offending business. This in itself would be a real education, accomplished without the violation of anyone's rights.

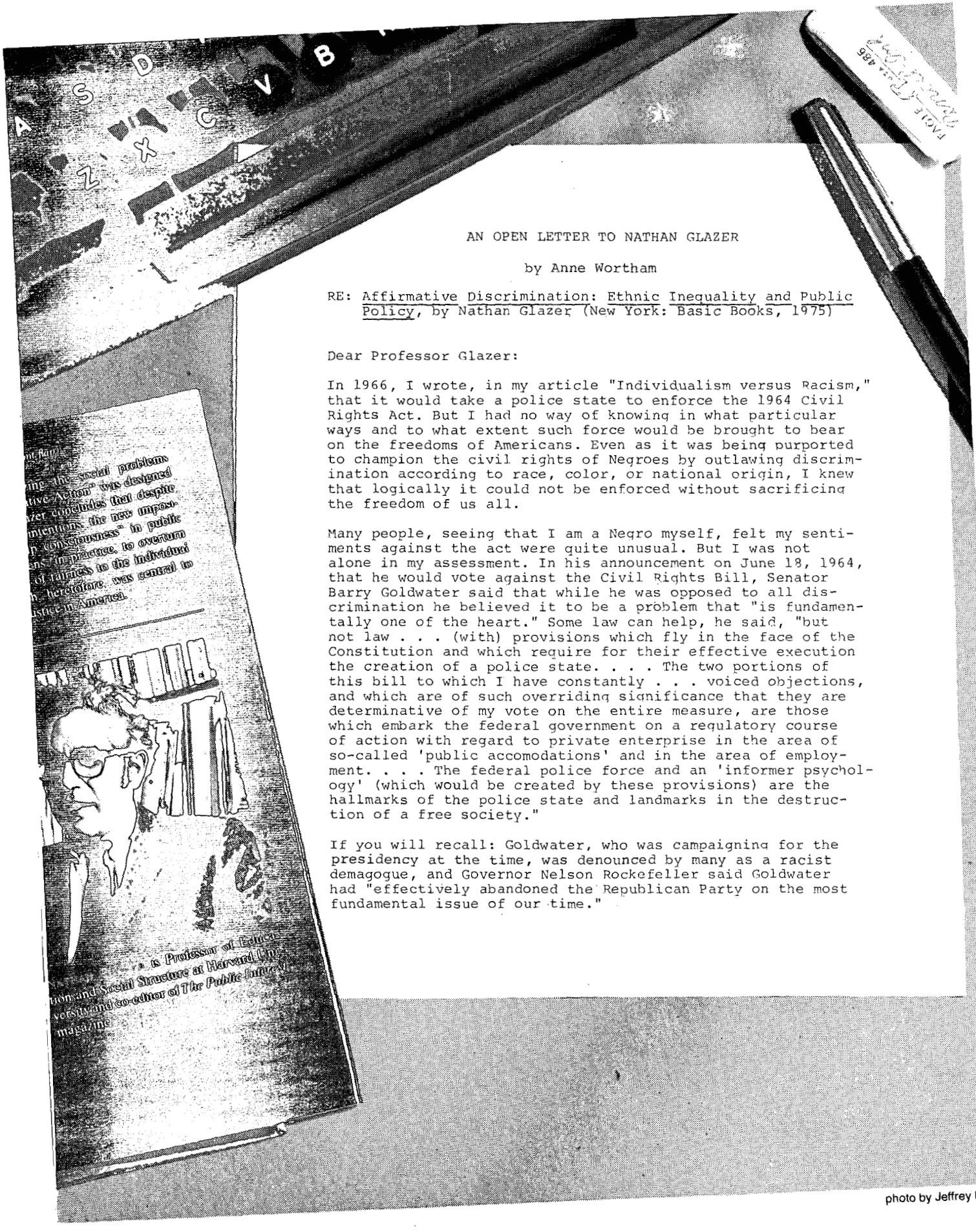
The fact is that Miss Bryant hit upon a libertarian stand by accident, not by principle.

The Dade County experience was unfortunate. Because the issue became so polarized, when the time came to vote on the repeal of the ordinance it seemed tantamount to voting against homosexuality. Indeed, for thinking gay people in Dade County who could vote, there existed a real test of principles. Should a person vote in favor of the ordinance and thus in effect say, gays are people too? or vote against the ordinance, defending the right of property owners yet at the same time implying that Anita Bryant was correct in the things she said about gays?

To do the latter would allow Miss Bryant to define the issue. Whereas she may have been correct in the position she took with regard to the law, she couldn't be more wrong in the "reasoning" process that got her there. The fact is that Miss Bryant hit upon a libertarian stand by accident, not by principle.

The plight in Dade County bespeaks a blurry understanding of what rights are.

Continued on p. 36.



AN OPEN LETTER TO NATHAN GLAZER

by Anne Wortham

RE: Affirmative Discrimination: Ethnic Inequality and Public Policy, by Nathan Glazer (New York: Basic Books, 1975)

Dear Professor Glazer:

In 1966, I wrote, in my article "Individualism versus Racism," that it would take a police state to enforce the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But I had no way of knowing in what particular ways and to what extent such force would be brought to bear on the freedoms of Americans. Even as it was being purported to champion the civil rights of Negroes by outlawing discrimination according to race, color, or national origin, I knew that logically it could not be enforced without sacrificing the freedom of us all.

Many people, seeing that I am a Negro myself, felt my sentiments against the act were quite unusual. But I was not alone in my assessment. In his announcement on June 18, 1964, that he would vote against the Civil Rights Bill, Senator Barry Goldwater said that while he was opposed to all discrimination he believed it to be a problem that "is fundamentally one of the heart." Some law can help, he said, "but not law . . . (with) provisions which fly in the face of the Constitution and which require for their effective execution the creation of a police state. . . . The two portions of this bill to which I have constantly . . . voiced objections, and which are of such overriding significance that they are determinative of my vote on the entire measure, are those which embark the federal government on a regulatory course of action with regard to private enterprise in the area of so-called 'public accomodations' and in the area of employment. . . . The federal police force and an 'informer psychology' (which would be created by these provisions) are the hallmarks of the police state and landmarks in the destruction of a free society."

If you will recall: Goldwater, who was campaigning for the presidency at the time, was denounced by many as a racist demagogue, and Governor Nelson Rockefeller said Goldwater had "effectively abandoned the Republican Party on the most fundamental issue of our time."

photo by Jeffrey Hettler

Now we are in the statist grip of the affirmative action quota system, which, in your words, "enshrine[s] some minorities as deserving of special benefits." And it requires, for the enforcement of laws against discrimination, "the setting of statistical requirements based on race, color, and national origin for employers and educational institutions," requirements that are also applied, to a lesser degree, in the area of housing and residential distribution.

Surely such a system runs counter to the 200-year-old American pursuit of equal opportunity for each individual to compete for the role and status he desires regardless of his race, color, religion, national origin, sex, or family. Surely this vengeance of ethno-race consciousness against individual rights and this assault by politicized neo-ethnicity on American pluralism were not meant to be. No, as your survey of the historical pattern of the American sanction and protection of individual rights indicates, this situation was not *meant* to be. But it *is*, as you so aptly describe.

It should be enough to demonstrate logically that affirmative action is immoral because it is racist and violates man's natural rights. But to make any real impact on the controversy, one must provide concrete exposition and valid data to support the general principle elicited. One must not only show that affirmative action is wrong in principle but also demonstrate the ineffectiveness of its practical implementation. This you have done in part. In fact, I think your demonstration of the ineffectiveness of affirmative action adds up to a more forceful argument against its general principle than perhaps you intended. What you convey about the negative impact of affirmative action on our society and its institutions is well worth the consideration of anyone who is at all concerned about the very real danger of our public policy and our way of life becoming captive to ethnic political interests.

You make your case—and you make it well. But your arguments are not enough. Attacking only the implementing extremities of the "equal opportunity/equal results" monster that has our judicial and legislative systems by the throat, you leave the monster's heart—the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The act plainly gives government a legal role in banning private discrimination, but is it a *morally* legitimate role? Is it *right*? Is it *fair*?

You say it is; you are concerned only about the government's extending its role beyond the provisions of that act. You make much of the fact that five of the act's eleven titles variously prohibit segregation or discrimination "on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin." The act could be read, you say, "as instituting into law Judge Harlan's famous dissent in *Plessey* v. *Ferguson*: 'Our Constitution is color-blind.'" You recite from the act's legislative history and quote passages from the act itself to demonstrate that the context of the law and the "clear and unambiguous intent" of Congress was "granting not *group* rights but *individual* rights."

You accept the "intent" of the act without giving much attention to the practical implications of its language and the contradictions it embodies. For instance, while titles 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 clearly ban any special consideration of individuals on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, it is in title 8 that the stage is implicitly set for the use of statistical imbalance as proof of discrimination. In language that is just as "clear and unambiguous," title 8 directs the Census Bureau to compile registration and voting statistics based on race, color, and national origin wherever recommended by the Civil Rights Commission. (So much for color-blind law!)

Curiously, in your account of the administrative connection between the act and subsequent affirmative action legislation, you say nothing of title 8. It was implemented, however, in conjunction with title 1, the voting rights provision. And as you point out, title 1 was then strengthened by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ruled that if 50 percent of the persons of voting age, according to the census, had not voted, radical and drastic Federal intervention and correcting could be undertaken. This statistical approach was later implemented in the recommendation by the Civil Rights Commission that the Federal government set a national standard that no black children should go to a school that is more than 50 percent black—which, to be practically implemented, meant busing.

It is true, as you note, that title 7 bans preferential treatment and quotas in hiring and employment practices; so, too, does title 6 prohibit the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance. But when it is regrettably a part of the American consensus that one has a "right" to schooling and a job, there is very little to prevent the statistical approach to protecting voting rights from being extended to education and employment. All it takes is a redefinition of the language by the administrative agencies and the courts. For, as you yourself write of the "utilization analysis" required by employers: "In effect, the Census is now to determine what is discrimination and what is affirmative action."

I cannot disagree strongly enough with your assertion that the Civil Rights Act was meant to grant individual rights rather than group rights. It doesn't matter that during the debate on the bill several congressmen expressed abhorrence to the idea of quotas, preferential hiring, busing, and the like and so incorporated this sentiment in the provisions of the act. What cancels out their lofty intentions and nullifies the language of the provisions is the breach of property rights in the public accommodations and employment titles. It is in the antidiscrimination clauses of these titles that the act grants administrative agencies the power to discriminate in favor of some citizens at the expense of others. It is here that it violates an individual's right to discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national origin. Granted, such nonviolent discrimination is immoral, but its immorality does not justify legislative prohibition of it. Doing so not only violates the 14th Amendment, which protects property rights, but it also violates the 1st Amendment, which protects the right of an individual to the nonviolent expression of his opinions.

The only way the Civil Rights Act can be implemented is with the power of coercion and by giving groups (discriminated minorities) the legal recognition that only individuals should have. Affirmative action is but the practical application of that contradiction in principle—to force into reality circumstances that would not otherwise come about, to hold that the desire to reduce discrimination justifies the use of coercion to bring it about. You acknowledge the contradiction as it exists in affirmative action programs, but you steadfastly exempt the Civil Rights Act from being the source and motive power of that contradiction.

You emphasize repeatedly that you are criticizing, not the government's attack on discrimination, but only those aspects of affirmative action that have nothing to do with discrimination, particularly those measures which require that the proof of discrimination be based on statistical distribution. Having said this, however, you still do not question the morality of affirmative action as a means of achieving integration and equal opportunity. You question only its effectiveness, its necessity, and the justice of its means of implementation. For instance, your attack on preferential hiring is not on principle, but because it generally doesn't do anything to benefit those who need it. You write: "For me, no consideration of principle—such as that merit should be rewarded, or that governmental programs should not discriminate on grounds of race or ethnic group—would stand in the way of a pro-

gram of preferential hiring if it made some substantial progress in reducing the severe problems of the low-income black population and of the inner cities. Because I have doubts as to what this contribution will be, I take most seriously the third objection I have raised to preferential hiring: the creation of fixed ethnic-racial categories, the danger of freezing them, and the danger of their spreading."

This willingness to sacrifice principle to "what works," and merit to "need," is not atypical of you but part and parcel of your philosphy: "When it is established that the full status of equality is extended to every individual, regardless of race, color, or national origin, and that *special opportunity is also available to any individual on the basis of individual need*, again, regardless of race, color, or national origin, one has done all that justice and equity call for and that is consistent with a harmonious multiethnic society" (emphasis added).

But is "special opportunity" meted out by government decree consistent with justice and political equity? Does it make for a harmonious society? I say no; that special privilege for whatever reason is unjust when granted by governments as it can only come about by coercion and the violation of the rights of all. The attempt to achieve *more* than equal treatment can proceed only at the expense of political equality itself. And without political equality, the issue of a free society is moot.

Your pragmatism is further evident in your suggestions regarding the busing issue. "The principle that public policy should strive toward an even distribution of children of different races and ethnic backgrounds is a good one," you say. But you do not believe mandatory transportation to achieve an even racial balance can do what it promises. If there must be busing to reduce racial imbalance, you argue, let it be a matter for local communities to decide voluntarily through the process of political give-and-take rather than a matter of "judge-imposed" decisions. That voluntary busing, however, should be aimed toward achieving something more substantial than racial balance. Thus, you suggest: "A plan for busing might require not that *black* or *Spanish-surnamed* children be evenly distributed in the schools, but that children of *low achievement* be evenly distributed in the schools or that children from *inner-city schools of low achievement* be given the first opportunity to enter a program to bus children to suburban schools. This would achieve the same aims, and would place the emphasis where it should now properly be, on issues of school achievement."

Of course, you must know that mandatory discrimination according to such nonracial categories as scholastic achievement is no more consistent with the principle of voluntary association than is busing to reduce racial imbalance. But then you argue from what works and from a social system of freedom and controls—not from what is just and from a system of laissez faire. Even your suggestion that desegregation might be achieved through freedom of choice with the use of educational vouchers is tainted by this position.

In several reviews of *Affirmative Discrimination* you are referred to as a neo-conservative, as though to signal the reader either that your analysis is tainted or that its neo-conservative perspective is the only thing that makes it acceptable. I prefer to characterize your view as right-wing liberalism; and from where I sit, your work means to add significance to *liberalism*, not to conservatism—however much conservatives might desire it. Oh, you call for skepticism about government's ability to solve social problems, the skepticism that your colleague Daniel P. Moynihan once said conservatives are endowed with at birth. But, as indicated in your suggestions for correcting affirmative action and in your exemption of the Civil Rights Act from measures that abuse individual rights, you have by no means abandoned the liberal doctrine of "humanitarian" welfare statism.

The attempt to achieve *more* than equal treatment can proceed only at the expense of political equality itself.

The positions taken in *Affirmative Discrimination* are but part of the broader, contradictory context of your right-wing liberalism. Take, for instance, your stand on the question of whether equality of opportunity is contingent upon equality of condition. In this work you complain that between 1964 and 1971 the language of affirmative action administrative agencies was progressively changed to reflect the basic redefinition of "opportunity" to mean "result." Criticizing the 1971 guidelines issued by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance as "another example of the misnaming of reality in an age in which words are easily distorted into their opposites," you say: "The point of this pronouncement is that equal employment opportunity must now be redefined, against its plain meaning, not as opportunity, but as result." This is the neo-conservatism, the right-wing liberalism of Nathan Glazer, 1975.

But you have not always thought along these lines. I remind you of the June 4, 1965, address delivered by President Johnson at Howard University, in which he echoed your sentiments then: "[In] the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights, we seek not just freedom...not just equality as a right and a theory but *equality as a fact and equality as a result.*" The speech, written by then Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan, contained proposals from Moynihan's controversial report, *The Negro Family: A Case for National Action*, which called for massive government effort to solve the "Negro problem" by upgrading the Negro family. In that report Moynihan ascribed the concept of "equality as a fact and as a result" to Bayard Rustin and Nathan Glazer, whom he has since called "its principal authors and proponents." You'll remember that Rustin's redefinition of opportunity to mean result appeared in a 1965 *Commentary* article; and your own, in *The Melting Pot*, co-authored by you and Moynihan.

In effect, what we are given in *Affirmative Discrimination* is *your* 1975 right-wing liberal response to the direction that *your* 1965 left-wing liberalism has given to public policy on racial issues during the past decade. You and your colleagues are the ideological parents of affirmative action; what you are engaged in now is mere chastisement of the wayward offspring that has gotten out of hand. In my view, your complaints against the politicization of ethno-race consciousness via affirmative action are not complaints against the threat it poses to individual rights qua natural rights, but complaints against the threat it is to "liberalism" and *its* notion of individual rights qua pragmatic expediency. But with liberalism being tactically and philosophically "up against the wall," as Daniel Bell puts it, rolling and pitching on the ocean of benevolent welfare statism, you are forced to stay your course with an assortment of libertarian and conservative ballast. That, essentially, is the "neo-conservatism" people perceive in your most recent writings and pronouncements.

In a *New York Times* article, black journalist Orde Coombs laments "the retreat of the liberal sages" and accuses intellectuals like Moynihan and you of trying to renounce liberalism and usher in the past. Mr. Coombs is mistaken, however. There is no retreat from your basic ideology, only a change in direction, as made clear by Moynihan in his

Continued on p. 36.

by
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WHY WE CONSENT

"Why in the world do people consent to their own enslavement?" asks Murray Rothbard in his introduction to a new edition of Etienne La Boetie's *The Politics of Obedience.* Rothbard is not posing a new question but is summing up La Boetie's dismay over the individual's willingness to submit to tyranny. La Boetie's classic was written more than four centuries ago, but the question it raises has seldom been answered to anyone's satisfaction.

By focusing upon the cowardly failure of the individual, La Boetie shifts his political inquiry into the realm of psychology. But it is far easier for a modern audience to focus upon the political forces of oppression than upon the willing cooperation of the victims. I myself began many years ago by emphasizing the vulnerability of the oppressed when I pointed out to the psychiatric profession that even so-called voluntary mental patients are victims of coercion.

But what of the other side of the coin? Mightn't it be that most mental patients, however much they are painted as helpless victims, have chosen their way into unfreedom? Could it be that, in the United States, at least, most victims of oppression have joined their oppressors in a cooperative game of subjugation?

But before taking up the psychological aspects of self-oppression or self-enslavement, I must first take on a more primary question: the place of psychology as a discipline in relation to economics and politics.

PSYCHOLOGY AND HUMAN ACTION

Students of economics and politics often look with caution, suspicion, and even contempt upon psychology. Libertarian psychiatrists or psychologists are cited within libertarian thinkers' studies of human action, but their contributions to an understanding of human action do not even get an honorable mention. Libertarians are very aware of Thomas Szasz's work in debunking the concept of mental illness and in unmasking involuntary treatment as a crime against humanity. But they are not likely to know that Szasz has outlined a theory of human action based upon free will and choice and that as early as *The Myth of Mental Illness,* (1962) he began exploring the role of choice in becoming an oppressed person. In *For a New Liberty,* for example, Rothbard gives Szasz deserved credit as a freedom fighter against psychiatric oppression but fails to acknowledge Szasz's contribution to a theory of human conduct.

It is understandable that disciplined economists or political theorists might look with fear and loathing upon psychology and psychiatry in general. Psychological approaches to public issues have typically proven to be naive, stupid, and even malicious. Psychological concepts have been used to assassinate the character of famous men and to justify psychiatric atrocities such as involuntary treatment. But this is not a characteristic of psychology alone; most establishment disciplines have been used to undermine liberty.

One particularly abusive use of psychologizing has been the unscrupulous blaming of the victim rather than the oppressor. Everything from slavery to oppression of women has been justified on the grounds that slaves and women are psychologically immature or otherwise mentally inferior. But it is a different matter to speak of self-oppression, to hold the oppressed individual responsible for submitting without a fight.

Some thinkers are afraid that a psychology of freedom is a contradiction in terms, because any psychology must end up prescribing rules of conduct. Anyone who takes it on himself to develop such a psychology is immediately thought to run the risk of becoming an authoritarian in his own right. But this, too, is not a danger specific to psychology. Authori-

TO OPPRESSION

Self-suppression paves the way for political suppression.

tarianism can and does rear up as easily within allegedly libertarian schools of philosophy and economics.

LIBERTARIAN PSYCHOLOGY?

But why speak of a "libertarian psychology"? Why not simply "psychology"? Economists differ on this issue within their own discipline, some advocating that "libertarian economics" is a redundancy and that the science of economics is in reality the science of the free market. They reserve the word "politics" for the study of the coerced market. Other economists stay closer to the traditional meaning of economics and distinguish between libertarian and totalitarian economics. I prefer this less parochial use of language, whereby "libertarian psychology" is used in order to distinguish it from all other psychological schools.

But when I speak of libertarian psychology, I no more intend thus to monopolize the field than does an honest libertarian economist. Again, this is not a problem peculiar to psychology. As long as people think for themselves, they will find much to disagree about. Even if I harbored hidden monopolistic tendencies, I am not a State psychiatrist and I do not resort to involuntary treatment or to authoritarian techniques—no opportunity there for me to monopolize anyone else's mind or body with my theories.

It will also be asked, "Who will determine if your psychology is truly libertarian?" I must return with the question, "Who determines if an economic theory is libertarian?" Obviously, we can only do our best to reach a consensus among ourselves. I personally believe that a libertarian psychology should adhere closely to the traditional dictionary definition of libertarianism as a philosophy based on the position that human beings have free will and ought to enjoy personal freedom.

Two final concerns about constructing a libertarian psychology stand in interesting and contradictory relationship to each other, and yet they are often espoused by the same person. The one position is that psychology should be a value-free science; the other, that psychology is a myth constructed of mysticism, religion, and hocus-pocus. In reality, psychology, like economics, is neither value-free nor mystical.

Psychology, like economics, is the study of human action. Psychology deals with personal decisionmaking and personal ethics and therefore is always concerned with values, whether they are implicit or explicit. Psychology, like economics, must start from certain premises about human nature and human society, and it must reach conclusions about how human beings *ought* to live. As argued by Thomas Szasz and myself, psychology deals with what rules people choose to live by, as well as with the consequences of their choices of rules. Thus, I have described psychotherapy as applied ethics, and Szasz has called his own classic on psychotherapy *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis.*

PSYCHOLOGY AND POLITICS

The two most influential books in my own intellectual development have been Szasz's *The Myth of Mental Illness* and Rothbard's *For a New Liberty.* A decade spanned my reading of these two books, and it was a decade of intellectual confusion for me. Without knowing it, I had become a libertarian psychiatrist before ever using the word "libertarian." I thought of myself as an antitotalitarian—a rebellious but not wholly constructive identity. This is why one libertarian honestly described my second novel, *After the Good War,* as a puzzling book. The more I stepped beyond psychology and psychiatry, the more puzzled I became. With the first reading of *For a New Liberty,* I found a political and economic viewpoint consistent with everything I had already learned as a

psychiatrist.

It is possible, however, to state the importance of integrating psychology and politics without reference to my own personal experience. Psychology focuses upon personal conduct—thoughts, feelings, motives, and actions of individual persons, usually within their more intimate settings, such as family, friends, and work. Political and economic studies focus upon the larger canvas of public life where the actions of individuals become historical trends. Psychology done properly is a systematic look at history. As a psychotherapist, I study living autobiographies presented to me by individuals who want to understand the often self-defeating principles by which they have conducted their lives. The aim is to help them to pursue their self-interest more effectively through conscious, rational decisionmaking. The economist or political analyst carries out the same pursuit on a broader scale.

There is a practical reason for the integration of psychology and political analysis. Even if we could with a magic wand transform our society into a libertarian one, it would soon be eroded without support from enlightened individuals. A libertarian society obviously cannot rest upon force; it must rest upon the desire of a sufficient number of individuals to live within a voluntary system. America's meandering toward increasing totalitarianism can be explained in terms of the inherent tendency of any government to aggrandize power; but it can also be understood in terms of the individual citizen's willingness to surrender the ethics of autonomy and individualism for the ethics of helplessness and dependency.

Some thinkers are afraid that a psychology of freedom is a contradiction in terms, because any psychology must end up prescribing rules of conduct.

In my psychotherapy practice I observe this tendency of people on a daily basis. Even clients with an avowed libertarian philosophy often find themselves drawn to denying their rights and the rights of others in their personal and family lives.

Why do people betray their own independence and freedom? Why do any of us have difficulty with a "live and let live" philosophy of life which upholds each individual's freedom? Answering these questions must be one of the major goals of a libertarian psychology.

FOUNDATIONS

In a talk before the 1976 Libertarian Convention, Murray Rothbard noted that most economists live in the dark about the "ultimate cause" of their own subject matter. That cause, Rothbard declared, is "human action." "People exist and they act," he stated, and this becomes the basis of the "methodological individualism" of libertarian economics. All this pertains equally well to libertarian psychology. Human action is human action—whether the human being is acting in the private or public arena.

In *For a New Liberty*, Rothbard summarizes the natural rights position of libertarianism in a manner wholly applicable to psychology as well as to economics:

> Since men can think, feel, evaluate, and act only as individuals, it becomes vitally necessary for each man's survival and prosperity that he be free to learn, choose, develop his faculties, and act upon this knowledge and values. This is the necessary path of human nature; to interfere with and cripple this process by using violence goes profoundly against what is necessary by man's nature for his life and prosperity.

To this one may add the marvelous emphasis placed upon *reason* both in Nathaniel Branden's application of Objectivist principles to psychology and in the work of Szasz. Because reason is man's most effective technique in achieving his own ends and because reason is necessary for evaluating reality, it must play a key role in any libertarian psychology or psychotherapy.

Even without any derivation from natural rights, dictionary definitions of libertarianism are surprisingly consistent and accurate and provide another starting point for building a libertarian lifestyle or philosophy. The *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* defines a libertarian as: (1) One who believes in freedom of action and thought; (2) One who believes in free will. With the principles so clearly stated, it is remarkable that the world had to await psychiatrist Thomas Szasz for a direct application of libertarian principles to psychiatry, psychology, and psychotherapy.

SELF AND SELF-OWNERSHIP

Much of the overall libertarian viewpoint as applied to economics or psychology can be summed up in what Rothbard calls "the basic axiom of the 'right to self-ownership.'" Rothbard's reference to self-ownership implies the existence of a self. So do the words "self-interest," "self-esteem," and "self-love," as well as the word "self-determination," which I have chosen as the organizing principle of my own approach to libertarian psychology.

The self refers to the individual as an actor, moral agent, or source of human action. It identifies Rothbard's "ultimate cause." One might use the term "person" or "human being" instead, but "self" can be made more specific to indicate those particular human qualities associated with ethical conduct in contrast to mechanistic, behavioral reactivity. The self identifies that aspect of the person that libertarians refer to as "human nature" and "human potential." Whether the self is inborn or develops early in life, whether it is temporal or eternal, whether it is biological or spiritual, whether it has many attributes or few—these questions need not concern us here. We need only to know that it is the source of human action and that it manifests four basic, integrated attributes: (1) free will, or the capacity to make choices; (2) reason, or the ability to make logical, rational choices; (3) aspiration for personal freedom; and (4) aspiration to pursue self-interest.

Free will is the inner, personal, or subjective experience of liberty. It can be felt privately by the individual and it can be inferred from his public actions or conduct. Reason is closely related to free will. It can be described as systematic choice making. "Personal sovereignty" is the term I use to designate the capacity and the right to govern one's inner world. It can be viewed as an absolute; we have the right to be absolute monarchs over our own inner experience.

Personal freedom is the expression of free will in the external world. Ethically, it is limited by recognition of the right of others to exercise their freedom, or by the injunction not to use force or fraud against others. Realistically, personal freedom is limited by everything from the price of gasoline to our physical health. Nonetheless, the self aspires toward personal freedom.

The pursuit of self-interest is the human equivalent of the life-enhancing principle that exists in all life forms, from the lowest to the highest. Life itself may be defined as that process which seeks its own survival and growth. Choice making in a rational manner is the human being's most effective method of ensuring its own prosperity.

SELF-OPPRESSION

The distinction between self and

person becomes useful when we consider how little the typical person seems to live according to the principles I have attributed to the self. To one degree or another, human beings too often seem to deny their own ability to choose or to reason, and they act in ways contrary to the enlargement of their personal freedom or the promotion of their self-interest.

These individuals present themselves as if they lack selfhood. In Szasz's words, these choose the role of helplessness; in Branden's terms, they have "disowned" themselves. I prefer the term "self-oppression," which is descriptive of the individual's deciding to become his own oppressor. In the extreme, he does this by denying his own selfhood or moral agency.

Every child is brought into the world as a helpless creature. He is literally a captive or a prisoner. Parenthood is the act of creating a captive for oneself. This captive quickly begins to display all the qualities of any self—free will, reason in the form of systematic choice making, and a powerful demand for personal freedom and the pursuit of self-interest. Initially it has little sense of other people or of cooperation. It cries! And that cry makes a loud demand for the fulfillment of its requirements. Usually within a matter of days, maybe within hours of birth, its communication of selfhood conflicts with the needs, demands, or problems of its captor parents.

Given such a conflict—and it usually worsens with the passage of years—the child experiences increasing fear. Fear of painful punishments, fear of neglect of its needs for food and comfort, fear of rejection, fear of ridicule and shame. In too many families its very selfhood is attacked; every time rational self-interest rears its head, the parents go headhunting with every weapon at their disposal. Even if they find that this war against the child clashes with their love for it, they wage the war, believing the child must be suppressed in its own interest in order to enable it to survive within the institutions of the family, the school, religion, and government.

The chronic, painful struggle between the child and its oppressors is so fearful and demoralizing that the child inevitably and invariably turns upon itself to deny some of its attributes in the interest of making peace and surviving within the family, and later within educational, religious, and political institutions. This turning of oppression on oneself is self-oppression.

SUBVERTING SELF-INTEREST

Even though all children become self-oppressors to one degree or another, self-oppression is still a choice. Its quality and its intensity will be influenced, not only by the totalitarianism of the environment, but by the courage and the convictions of the individual child. Most childhood environments are sufficiently difficult to live within that the typical child finds many good reasons to suppress itself as a last-resort attempt to survive and to get along.

If this were all there is to it, the individual would not become a chronic self-oppressor. He would recognize that he had made a choice in oppressing himself in the interest of surviving among his enemies. Then in later years, when free of them, he would be able to revoke his original compromise in the interest of a more open expression of free will, personal freedom, and the rational pursuit of self-interest. But few children are capable of making this kind of overt, conscious compromise with themselves. They do not have the wherewithall, the courage, or the clarity of vision to become hypocritical in their own self-interest.

It is too dangerous to "fake" the suppression of selfhood because parents, and later teachers and religious authorities as well as siblings, are always on the lookout for danger signals of selfhood in order to suppress them with ridicule and other punishments. It is too easy to make slips if one remains aware of selfhood, while denying it for everyone else's benefit. Besides, the authorities take special offense at "lying" and punish it severely.

So the growing child makes the greatest compromise of his life—he begins to lie to himself as well as to others. He begins to lie about his ability to make choices in a rational manner in the pursuit of personal freedom and self-interest. Especially, he denies the awful anguish that went into his decision to become a self-oppressor. The entire process of disowning himself is then locked away into "the unconscious" and becomes the victim of childhood amnesia or unconsciousness. He reaches adulthood unaware of his innermost reality of himself as a self.

The process of self-oppression is of course as subtle and as complex as the human being's ability to create excuses, myths, lies, fakery, and every other manner of falsehood. The various psychological lifestyles—paranoia, depression, and anxiety—can be understood as styles of decisionmaking in the interest of self-oppression or personal helplessness. On an action level, some children choose themselves into profound states of withdrawal from themselves and the world. This is called "autism." Some rebel in frantic, helpless "hyperactivity." Most find an unhappy medium in the form of partial robotism, sometimes with the help of drugs.

The choice of such obviously self-defeating lifestyles of self-oppression can only be accounted for in terms of the oppressiveness of the typical childhood. Children are the most oppressed class of persons on earth. This is because they are the most powerless. No adult human being is so low within the class structure that he cannot find a child upon whom to take out his frustrations. When oppressed adults reach the bottom of their existence, they tend to resemble children and are compared to children in their own eyes and the eyes of others. This is not because children are pitifully ridiculous by nature but because children are the prototype of abused human beings.

A libertarian society must rest upon the desire of a sufficient number of individuals to live within a voluntary system.

INTUITIVE OBEDIENCE?

I can underscore the importance of self-oppression in response to childhood oppression by comparing this concept to that of La Boetie, who remained at a loss to explain why human beings choose voluntary servitude at the hands of tyrants. "In the first place," he says, "all would agree that, if we led our lives according to the ways intended by nature and the lessons taught by her, we should be intuitively obedient to our parents; later we should adopt reason as our guide and become slaves to nobody."

Parenthood is the act of creating a captive for oneself.

La Boetie is wrong. The self is not intuitively obedient to anyone. My son, Benjamin, who attended the 1976 Libertarian Convention at the ripe age of seven weeks, displays no such intuitive obedience. Throughout the convention he displayed every intention of getting every single one of his needs met at exactly the moment he wanted them met. If he hadn't been nursed the moment the idea occurred to him, his resounding demand—that piercing infant's cry—would have drowned out the speakers on

the podium and gained the attention of all 500 members of the audience. Whether he is too wet, too hungry, or simply wants to experiment with lifting up his head, Benjamin makes known his desires without the slightest concern for the desires of anyone else. So much for intuitive obedience!

The typical child becomes obedient because all his other options appear too threatening to him. As he learns to exercise reason, then he uses it for the purpose of pursuing the path of self-suppression in order to minimize the threatening conflicts to which he is constantly exposed. By the time he reaches adulthood, reason is not a technique for pursuing self-interest in cooperative, voluntary relationships; it is a technique for continuing the masquerade of selflessness which I call self-oppression. Thus the child moves from childhood self-oppression in the presence of his parents to adulthood self-oppression in the presence of his siblings, teachers, priests, and government enforcers.

So oppressive is childhood that the typical child yearns above all else to grow up. When he reaches adulthood, the idea that he can drive or drink beer—trivial as it is—symbolizes his liberation from restraint. It hardly enters his mind that he ought to rebel against school, church, and State. He is merely glad to be free of childhood. He will try not to recall it; he will avoid thinking about it; and he will do anything to avoid identifying himself with children. Unlike every other oppressed class, few children grow up to become champions of the children they left behind. It is too painful to be reminded about the degree of servitude. Thus the authoritarian family paves the way for the totalitarian society.

Anthropologists have lamented the lack of transitional rituals from childhood to adulthood in our society. They miss the point. There are no rituals because there is no transition. The child grows up from a self-oppressing young person to a self-oppressing older person. To escape the lessons of his childhood, he must have the courage to overcome and undo all the lying he has done to himself. He must cease to be unaware or "unconscious" about himself and about his aspirations for liberty and love.

LOVE AND ESTEEM

In any libertarian process of self-development or self-liberation, the individual must learn to *value* himself. I want to focus upon this particular aspect of my psychology of self-determination because it is of central importance and because my own viewpoint differs significantly from that incorporated in one of the most important sources of libertarian psychology, Objectivism.

In the psychology of self-determination, learning to value oneself involves two distinguishable processes: *building self-esteem* and *recovering self-love*. Self-esteem is familiar to libertarians through the work of Nathaniel Branden. Closely related to self-respect, it has to be earned. When an individual conducts himself ethically or musters the courage and discipline to accomplish his aims, he feels good about himself. Self-esteem is like a barometer of our conduct: it reflects how we are doing in our own eyes. Similarly, esteem for others is much like respect for others; it is determined by how nearly they meet our standards.

Self-esteem is "judgmental," and it should be. Human beings should evaluate themselves and others. But it is dangerous and even disastrous to base one's entire relationship to oneself or to others upon this conditional attitude. If esteem or respect is our only approach to placing value upon ourselves and others, then our feelings toward ourselves and others will roller-coaster in a frightening manner.

On an emotional level, love is joy or happiness in the presence of another human being. In terms of rational values, love is the placement of a high value upon a person as a person or self or living being. Love is unconditional because it is a reaching out to life itself. It is an affirmation of life, or of a particular life. Love for human beings means recognition of our common humanity or selfhood.

The choice of self-oppression can only be accounted for in terms of the oppressiveness of the typical childhood.

Love is the basis for granting rights to others. It says in effect "We are all selves; all of us therefore have the same rights." While this may seem like a radical idea—that we grant rights out of our identification with others rather than out of abstract principles—it is not new as a libertarian concept. Toward the end of his book, La Boetie says of the tyrant: "It is because he does not know how to love that he ultimately impoverishes his own spirit and destroys his own empire.... The fact is that the tyrant is never truly loved, nor does he love." This lack of love is then directly linked to lack of love for the liberty of others. The tyrant "finds himself beyond the pale of friendship, which receives its real sustenance for an equality that, to proceed without a limp, must have its two limbs equal."

Here La Boetie touches upon a major thesis of the psychology of self-determination—that love can flourish where there is freedom; and where there is freedom, love will tend to flourish. Voluntary relationships between individuals with equal rights promote love, and love promotes voluntary relationships.

SELF-LOVE

The concept of love as an unconditional value placed upon life itself is as important to self-love as to love for others. Self-love, or the unconditional placement of value upon ourselves as expressions of life, is the basis for granting ourselves the right to pursue self-interest. We pursue self-interest because we recognize our value. Similarly, we grant the right to others to pursue their self-interest because we recognize their value as expressions of life.

Self-love is not earned but *recovered*. It is rediscovered within oneself as an essential capacity of the self to know its own value. The infant does not have to learn that it should pursue its own self-interest. It does so from the start, or it would not survive or thrive. The infant does not have to learn joy over being fed and touched, nor does it have to learn joy over human companionship. The infant experiences self-love and then gives it up under oppressive batterings. The giving up of self love is among the most damaging aspects of self-oppression.

Once self-love is firmly reestablished, the individual can go on with his life in a self-fulfilling manner regardless of his errors or mistakes along the way. He will become what all persons must become in order to thrive—self-loving.

The failure to recognize love as separable from esteem is the major theoretical failure of Objectivism. Objectivism bases human value wholly upon human accomplishment. When Randian characters fall in their own esteem, the bottom falls out of their value for themselves. This is especially obvious in the lives of Ayn Rand's women characters, who start out as non-Objectivists who hate themselves. With human value made wholly conditional, they feel hero worship for their more Objectivist men, while they loathe themselves. Similarly, Randian characters hate others who fail to meet their standards and often end up loathing mankind in general. John Galt's famous speech in *Atlas Shrugged* illustrates that completely. He will not love those whom he cannot esteem, and he ends up loathing the very audience to whom he is addressing himself. Hence the specter of something hateful toward most people in a philosophy allegedly based upon valuing the individual.

It is much more sound to base one's value of oneself and others upon a rock-bottom conviction that all life has potential value and that all life deserves love. This does not mean that we respect ourselves or others when we fail to meet important standards of conduct; it does mean that we never lose sight of the humanity of others or of ourselves.

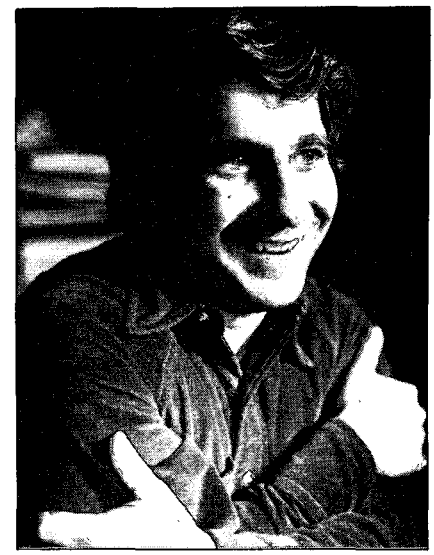
LOVE AND LIBERTY

Libertarians tend not to take human attitudes toward each other into account when hoping for and planning for a more libertarian world. They tend to think in terms of reordering the society or, more accurately, of removing artificially imposed order in favor of voluntary relationships. How and why this libertarian society will then maintain itself against the forces of human greed and hate is left unanswered or passed off with the unproven assertion that the competitive balance of powers will maintain liberty. But why believe that self-interest, unleavened by love for mankind or love for human liberty, will itself lead people to respect each other's rights? Instead, as long as individuals pursue their own self-interest without an unconditional commitment to the rights of others, individuals will tend to aggrandize themselves in whatever way they can.

A libertarian society will thrive only when individuals are willing to value each other as human beings, even if they do not know or care for each other. It will thrive only when individuals are willing to value each other's freedom regardless of any gain or loss to themselves. Libertarianism will become a viable principle of society whenever men and women become willing to live by, and, if necessary, to fight for *each other's liberty.*

Such a society may be a long way off. Perhaps it will never be realized within the history of mankind. Since its realization depends upon individual decision-making, no one can predict the outcome. But each of us can begin creating a libertarian niche for ourselves in our own private lives. We can learn to live by the twin principles of liberty and love in our personal lives. We can also raise our children in families free of force and fraud and encourage them to live their own lives as they please, provided only that they respect the equal rights of others to pursue their own lives as they please.

Each of us can actually enlarge the libertarian arena within which we live by making our personal, private space as free and loving as possible. To do this we must understand self-oppression, and we must overcome it in favor of the rational pursuit of self-interest, including our ideals of liberty and love. While each of us may have but a small impact on the wider society, we can be sure of an enormous impact upon ourselves, our friends, and our family. ◧



Peter Breggin, M.D., is an author and a psychiatrist. He has published two novels and is in the private practice of psychiatry in Bethesda, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, DC.

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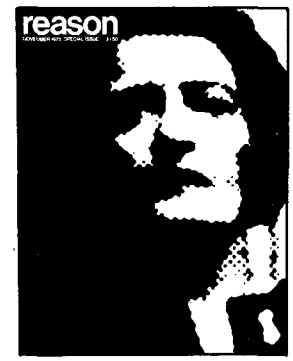

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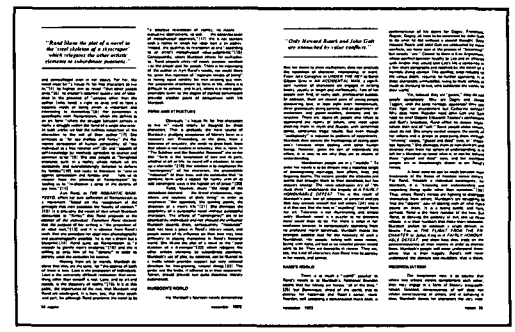

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Those "Natural" Rights Aren't

Rights are an invention of man, not a law of nature, say the authors.

by John A. Goodson and David M. Longinotti

Libertarians, who are justly indignant over references to a "social contract" that no one has signed, would do well to examine the "natural entitlement" of rights, which no one has granted. Current arguments for natural rights are less than satisfying when closely scrutinized, and the concept itself does not provide convincing answers to a number of social questions. Rights can be more consistently defended, not as a law of nature, but as an invention of man, a viewpoint which does *not* diminish their importance.

The argument for natural rights generally proceeds as follows: (1) that which is *right* for a living organism is that which sustains its life; (2) it is man's *nature* to use his rational faculty to maintain his life through productive effort; (3) each man can effectively use his mind only when he has the liberty to act on his rational judgments; (4) hence, it is right that men have maximum freedom in society and not interfere with one another's liberty. Since the conclusion rests squarely on the first two assertions, it is appropriate to examine these in some detail.

SUBJECTIVITY

Considerations of value are of prime importance in the argument for natural rights. Ayn Rand, in *The Virtue of Selfishness*, states: "An organism's life is its *standard of value*: that which furthers its life is the *good*, that which threatens it is the *evil*." This foundation is eminently sensible, since any other standard of value for a living organism would be meaningless if it resulted in that organism's death. Clearly, however, this standard is also subjective for living things in general, since many species live in direct competition (for example, the act of a bird eating a worm is "good" for the bird, but "evil" for the worm).

Others maintain that it is only for beings with the capability to consider alternatives of action that morality has any meaning. Tibor Machan, in *Human Rights and Human Liberties*, writes that "since morality presupposes the capacity for free choice, it is only where this capacity exists and where it is required (e.g., human actions, relationships, institutions, policies) that there could be room for morality." Machan subscribes to Eric Mack's notion that "the morally good, with respect to each human being, is the successful performance, and the result of the successful performance, of those actions that sustain his existence as a living thing." This somewhat narrower view of morality is still open to the accusation of subjectivity (one can assert that an act of thievery is "good" for the thief and "evil" for the victim) unless it can be shown that individuals cannot live by stealing or that stealing is "wrong" for some additional reason.

Natural rights advocates proceed, then, to an examination of the methods by which humans sustain their lives. Rand's position is very clear: "No choice is open to an organism in this issue: that which is required for its survival is determined by its *nature*, by the kind of entity it *is*." "For man, the basic means of survival is *reason*. . . everything man needs has to be discovered by his own mind and produced by his own effort." Murray Rothbard agrees that in considerations of human nature man's mind is paramount. In *For a New Liberty*, he states that "violent interference with a man's learning and choices is therefore profoundly 'antihuman'; it violates the natural law of man's needs."

Thus, in determining the methods by which human beings can survive, natural rights theorists ignore theft, emphasize production, and declare that any other mode of existence is "antihuman." Rand contends that "men who attempt to survive, not by means of reason, but by means of force, are attempting to live by the methods of animals." But men *are* animals, and even criminal force is goal-directed, requiring reason for its successful use.

Rand maintains further that "if some men attempt to survive by means of brute force. . . it still remains true that their survival is made possible only by. . . the men who choose to think and to produce the goods which they, the looters, are seizing." This is the support for the idea that production is right for man and force is therefore wrong. But one could argue along the same lines that, since all men require food, those who are not farmers are evil!

Rand proceeds to assert that "men cannot survive by. . . counting on productive men to serve as their prey." Only one example is needed to refute this idea, but there are millions (kings, dictators, crooked politicians, gangsters, etc.). The reason that there *are* conflicts between people is that life can be supported on two opposing bases—production and theft. And both require some degree of rationality.

SAVAGERY

A change of perspective may help to arrive at a more objective view of human nature. Assume that the members of a scientific safari observe one tiger slay an antelope for a meal and then see a second tiger battle the first for his kill. On the basis of this evidence, it should not be stated that tigers live by preying on other

animals. Instead, it *must* be reported that some tigers hunt while others prefer, at times, to steal. And while it is true that some tigers must stalk before others can steal, that fact does not make the larcenous tiger "evil." Whether the actions described above are really typical of tigers is immaterial. They are certainly characteristic of man: they are natural.

Tibor Machan takes a slightly different approach to establishing the proper life for man. Accepting Aristotle's definition of man as a rational animal, Machan reasons that "the happiness or successful life of a person must involve considerations that *depend* upon his conceptual capacities... his goal as a human being must be to do what is his unique capacity: live rationally." This, however, is an attempt to justify a morality of life on a coincidence. The coincidence is that the defining characteristic of man (his rationality) is also a factor in his survival. If man were but one of many rational animals on earth, then rationality would not be a defining characteristic, and Machan might conclude that man's happiness depended on using his opposing thumb if that were his chief differentiating feature.

There are, then, a number of problems with the derivation of natural rights, but one is fundamental. In defining man's nature, the savage characteristics are dismissed as being not proper to man. For Ayn Rand, "man's survival *qua* man" means a rational, productive existence, and anything else is nonhuman. But to maintain that a human can have characteristics that are not human is to assert that A can be not-A, thus attempting to deny the law of identity. If, as Rothbard points out, "the activity of each inorganic and organic entity is determined by its own nature," then is it not true that the *violent* activity of an organism (for example, man) is also determined by its nature? And if, as John Hospers writes in *Libertarianism*, an organism "acts for its survival by means implanted in it by nature," then must not the predatory acts of one man against another also be implanted by nature?

The point is that an organism's "nature" is what it *is*, or can be. It is not within an elephant's nature to fly: it *is* within a man's nature to steal. Like all animals, man is in a continual process of evolving and is not that far out of the woods that we may totally dissociate him from his primitive ancestors. Men do things instinctively, still. No one questions why a well-fed, domesticated cat will chase and kill birds, mice, and other small creatures even though it may not eat them. It should not be surprising, then, that some people enjoy hunting as a sport and that still others may hunt their own kind for their very livelihood.

WHY NOT COERCION?

A second basic contradiction in the natural rights idea is that, after asserting that the morally good for an organism is that which benefits the life of that organism, the rights theorists deny to individual men forceful actions that benefit their lives. Machan, for example, states at one point that "coercion is immoral, regardless of who perpetrates it in a human community." But he also admits that there exist "actions that must harm another but may benefit the agent"! Machan calls these actions "wrong," in explicit contradiction to his endorsement of Mack's concept that those actions of humans are "right" which sustain their individual existence.

Rights are the engineering constraints required to produce the goal of a society wherein men live by productivity.

As one would expect, a theory with fundamental flaws in its derivation inevitably produces further problems in its application. A central claim of natural rights theory is that an *objective* standard of human morality exists, and therefore men's rights can never be in conflict. But Robert Nozick, in *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, provides a situation to the contrary. Nozick describes the complications concerning "innocent shields of threats, those innocent persons who themselves are nonthreats but who are so situated that they will be damaged by the only means available for stopping the threat. Innocent persons strapped onto the front of tanks of aggressors so that the tanks cannot be hit without also hitting them are innocent shields of threats." This is a clear either-or situation where people's rights are in direct conflict. Either the shields have a right to life, or the people under attack have a right to defend *their* lives.

An even greater problem is the difficulty of justifying punishment of criminal offenders. For if humans have rights by their very nature, no act they perform (murder, for example) can diminish their right to life and liberty: they cannot be punished! Advocates of rights attempt to circumvent this problem by maintaining that the criminal chooses to be punished. Tibor Machan writes that, "in effect, the criminal is jailed by his own choice, in that he is jailed in line with the logical consequences of his own choice." This is a use of the word "choice" which would make George Orwell (and IRS agents, with their "voluntary" tax) smile. Very few criminals commit crimes with the object of getting caught, and the fact that many are *never* apprehended means that punishment cannot be represented as the logical, "objective" consequence of their acts.

Another significant question regarding rights may be stated as follows: If humans have rights, and if the species has evolved from lower forms which do not have rights, then at what point in his evolution does man come to possess them? If having rights depends on the development of a rational faculty, then did the smarter apes have rights before their dull companions? If so, then are there still men amongst us of lesser intelligence who do not have rights? And if not, what *communal* accomplishment caused all men to have rights at once?

The significance of this problem can be appreciated when it is recognized as an exact parallel to the abortion question. Biologists tell us that humans go through their complete evolutionary cycle as they develop in the womb. At what point do they have rights? If we use, as a criterion, the existence of a rational faculty, then we might deduce that humans do not possess rights until they first logically express themselves (before this, they have only the *potential* for rationality, which is what they had at the moment of conception.)

USING NATURAL RIGHTS

The philosophical dilemmas recounted above make natural rights doctrine less than completely acceptable. But because the concept can be applied in a great number of situations with useful results, it surely must contain some degree of truth. The question, then, is how to refine the concept to bring it closer to reality. A possible approach may be to shift its purported basis from science (natural

law) to engineering.

The purpose of science is the collection of objective knowledge of reality, for its own sake. This knowledge is frequently summarized (often mathematically) as a law of nature. Newton's laws of motion provide an example of a mathematical summary of many observations. Engineering, on the other hand, is the application of scientific fact to a specific goal. Building an automobile is an application of Newton's laws, together with thermodynamics and the science of materials. Engineering results in artificial constructs, rearrangements of nature by man to suit some human purpose.

Natural rights are presented as a product of science, an objective moral code *discovered* by the observation of human characteristics. Rights are more consistent, however, when understood in engineering terms. That is, given certain general facts about human behavior (capability for rationality, desire for liberty, possibility for savagery, etc.), rights are the engineering constraints required to produce the goal of a society wherein men live by productivity. In this light, communism can be regarded as poor engineering. The goal of a communist society is (ostensibly) virtual economic equality among men. Because this requires human beings who are willing to forego their own interests (contrary to general observations of human nature), the attempt to create this society is like trying to build an internal combustion engine out of wood: the materials do not fit the design.

Although the theoretical foundation for the doctrine of natural rights leaves much to be desired, the greatness of the men and women who contributed to its development should not be denied. Instead of being lauded as the discoverers of a new natural law, however, they are to be praised as great inventors for their creation of the basic legal constructs necessary for productive society. And none should despair at the absence of an absolute moral framework to justify capitalism. Nature is neither good nor evil. It is neutral, a lump of clay to be shaped within its natural bounds. And human beings are a part of nature that must be constrained if the goals of a creative culture are to be realized. ◧

John Goodson is a high school guidance counselor, and he coedited the book Great Essays. *David Longinotti, a physicist and electronics engineer, is working on radar systems for the army.*

Glazer

Continued from p. 27.

response to Coomb's disillusionment: "Mr. Johnson's speech was an attempt to articulate a vision while warning of coming troubles. The vision was great; the warning was true.... Those of us whom Mr. Coombs despairs have not ourselves despaired. We knew the future which seemed clear sailing to many, would be stormy, and the course long.... And it has been stormy. But we are still on deck. We will stay the course.

"The fact that we have been among those first to call attention to the failures of programs we ourselves helped in various ways to create means that we are still committed to the goals these programs were designed to achieve. Correcting course in a storm is a way of staying the course...."

Moynihan's article, written "in the name of my colleagues," is the all-important footnote to *Affirmative Discrimination.* In 1965 you and many Americans were quite willing to sacrifice the principle of freedom to the principle of equality. Now, a decade later, you rightly point a finger of correction at your past position. But your improved reasoning does not put us any closer to the fullest expression of human rights required in a free and open society; it only reforms the inefficiency of statism's mixture of controls and freedom.

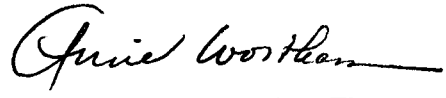
The difficulty I have with most social reforms proposals is that, being opposed to the general principles behind them, I require an extra measure of tolerance to examine aspects of their particular means of implementation. It is difficult to argue the pros and cons of particular affirmative action policies when I question the morality and legality of provisions in the 1964 Civil Rights Act on which many of these policies are founded.

The Federal government should cease and desist in its ban on discrimination and de facto segregation in the private sector, *period.* Only after sufficient protection has been instituted against government's attempt to legislate morality and restrict voluntary association does any discussion of antidiscrimination measures in the public sector make sense. It simply is not government's business to create interracial goodwill or harmonious multiethnic relations, although it is its business to maintain a free and peaceful society in which these ends can be pursued voluntarily and at their own pace. And this can come about only by repealing most of the laws in this area, not by mere correction of their bureaucratic implementation.

Mind you, I fully appreciate the difficulty of moving from the implementation of Johnson's 1965 promise "to fulfill these rights" back to the Constitutional and rational requirement that government only preserve and protect human rights. But the difficulty of implementing the philosophical and political imperatives of freedom and justice for all men is no reason for abandoning its possibility.

What affirmative action needs, Professor Glazer, is not correcting, but ending. And what your course needs is not staying, but changing.

Sincerely,



Anne Wortham

Anne Wortham is a free-lance writer and research librarian in the newspaper syndication industry.

Property Rights

Continued from p. 24.

The solution is for articulate, knowledgeable people to clarify the issue. Ayn Rand's insights in "The Cashing-In: The Student Rebellion" could just as well have been written in response to the predicament in Florida: "The battle consists, not of opposing, but of exposing; not of denouncing, but of disproving; not of evading, but of boldly proclaiming a full, consistent and radical alternative." ◧

Formerly executive director of the Gay Community Services Center in Los Angeles, Mr. Sirico is California chairperson of Libertarians for Gay Rights.

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Smears on Liberty

viewpoint

Tibor R. Machan

We have to face the fact that liberty is not imminent for us, however much utopians may promise otherwise. When I heard Roger MacBride say that the victory of libertarianism is *inevitable* (at the Libertarian Party Convention in Washington, DC, last September), I just walked out of the speech. It distressed me immensely that such an idea would occur as even rhetorically palatable to a sane and ordinarily realistic individual. Should anyone begin to believe such nonsense, the prospects for liberty would become even worse than they are now. And they are bad.

Consider, first of all, that the left has not given up in the slightest promoting the powers of the State. Despite decades of demonstration of the failure of State efforts to make the world into a joyous, fully satisfying place for everyone (good, bad, indifferent), the left wing is just not going to give up in its hope. There is no pretense at rational grounds for their perseverance any longer. Even Marxists talk of *faith* these days. But the religious adherence to the power of brute force is widespread indeed. The Carter victory might have taught the more libertarian-leaning left a lesson, and I am certain that many like Robert Sam Anson of *New Times* are ashamed at their blind support of the pragmatic, ambiguous Georgian who declared in his first debate that at least Nixon was a good leader! But what these folks lament is that Carter isn't statist enough, that he likes the statism of the old ADA liberal types like Cyrus Vance instead of the more freaky type promulgated by Abbie Hoffman.

The right wing, on the other hand, is not a great help either. For some years now the right has been gaining ground, but not in its support of liberty. Instead it is gaining ground in its efforts to make government change its priorities. The Irving Kristols, Daniel Bells, Ernest van den Haags are after something very different from a free society. They consider capitalism the thing that is responsible for hedonism, for the wild and self-destructive behavior of economic man, for the lack of any currency of the higher values in human life.

These folks want religion. And they don't mind Jimmy Carter, simply because Carter, whatever his economic ignorance, his bureaucratic naivete, his dishonesty, is a born-again mystic. The conservatives may embrace some of the libertarian emphasis on individualism and political liberty when they see these as part of the American tradition, but they have no principled defense of them. They have a vague yearning for high culture, for elite sentiments, for the prominence of the sophisticated and refined. Why? Well, because these things are usually defined in terms of tradition. And tradition today gives us mysticism with its fancy ornamentation that is unthinkingly identified with meeting high standards.

Now conservatives and Marxists both realize that politics alone has not given the liberal democratic tradition its flesh—the culture that politics can only make possible, even encourage, but never create. Indeed, there is much more to life than politics, and in this right and left are correct, while many libertarians (who want to make everything a political issue) are wrong. But because liberal democracy hasn't been accompanied by a fully developed, rich, and culturally robust community, it does not follow that the absence of such a life is the fault of liberal democracy, or capitalism. The fault lies, instead, with the two major movements in recent times, namely materialism and mysticism.

The materialists made it appear that people merely react to their world, so creative efforts such as art, science, philosophy and culture in general fell into disrepute in a materialistic philosophy. Pleasure—the response of the physical organism to its environment in a positive manner—became the only value. And when intelligent people think this way, it is probable that the doctrine becomes influential. It is accomplished by a denigration of values.

Values require standards, and a materialist tradition in philosophy makes the human mind incapable of identifying standards. Standards depend on the knowledge we have of the essence of things, of their nature. But if we get knowledge by responding to reality, we can never know the nature of things because sensory information alone gives us no understanding of that. But then we cannot tell the standards for doing things well or badly, so politics, medicine, science, education and all become conventional, with no firm grounding in the nature of the endeavors involved. So ethics—for example the ethics of the professional educator, scientist, politician, journalist—is unavailable. We are all left to believe in our gut feelings about things, in our vested interests. (That is why economic analysis so often relies on analyzing human behavior on the supposition that everyone acts as he feels like acting.)

On the other hand mysticism makes it all hinge on mystery or blind authority. That is why conservatives love it. What is good, valuable, right, beautiful? What *we* say. The same story with a different coloring. Religious values are values that some people with power enforce. No doubt, some people who had such power actually hit it right and enforced some decent, even noble values. Just as some of the things we feel strongly about are indeed the right things to feel strongly about. But in neither case do we confront understanding, nor can we be guided by it.

The attack on capitalism is that it rejects value-indoctrination. Neither the left nor the right likes that because for the left the feelings which matter prompts in us will not be treated as decisive, while for the right the "higher" feelings (with religious flavor) won't carry the kind of legitimate power that they claim for them. What capitalism demands is that you *convince* others of the value of what you hold dear, and only thus can you "impose" such values on them.

Capitalism is the rational economic and culture system. It expects that values, virtues, beauty, and whatever else is good in life enter the community without the gun as an inducement for people to embrace them. It is the fact that in a free society neither those who speak from the gut nor those who speak off the top of their heads can make the rest of us obey that makes this system such a challenging—and at once scary—one for most people.

But those who realize this must not relent on rejecting the smears of the anti-capitalists. Recent books such as Bell's *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Harrington's *The Twilight of Capitalism*, and Scitovsky's *The Joyless Economy* are sophisticated smear campaigns against the only system of politics that has made it possible to develop what capitalism's numerous enemies proclaim themselves to be for: culture, wealth, equality of opportunity, health care, etc. Unfortunately the prominent and widely published supporters of the free society refuse to make the proper defense of the system. Friedman, Hayek and the rest keep declining to say what is good, what is right, because they think saying so means they must enforce it; thus they accept their enemy's premises. The rest refuse to go to work on finding personal values and reject what amounts to the modicum of truth in the critics' message, namely that community life needs more than political liberty.

Because those who speak along the present line are not prominent and probably not all that talented with making their point, the prospect of an early victory for liberty is meager. Still, it is certainly worth it to keep up the battle.

Senior editor Tibor Machan teaches philosophy at SUNY-Fredonia. His Viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with those of Alan Reynolds and Edith Efron.

foreign correspondent

Jamaica's Socialist Conversion

Kingston. As recently as 1972, Jamaica was regarded internationally as a very stable, developing island that outstripped many larger countries in racial harmony, economic advancement and expansion, and upward social mobility in terms of such factors as education and standard of living. The largest English-speaking territory in the Caribbean was a functioning democracy that reflected the will of the people through a Parliament modeled on the Westminster System, bequeathed to the nation by Britain.

Once independence was granted in 1962, the island entered its first 10 years of sovereign statehood under the guidance of the Jamaica Labor Party, the country's conservative party. The economic policy was one of firm commitment to the free enterprise system. Government incentives for trade, commerce, manufacturing, agriculture, and mining resulted in rapid expansion of those sectors, and hence a throbbing economy. Per capita income soared from approximately $180 in 1962 to $800 in 1972. Reinvestment of earnings and a low tax ceiling fired consumer-oriented industries such as furnishing, food-preserving, housing, and garment manufacturing. Mining of bauxite and its conversion to alumina attracted all the major United States producers, who invested billions of dollars to expand the mining industry. Jamaica now supplies the United States with approximately 65 percent of its annual aluminium requirements.

In 1972, the People's National Party, the socialist party (then presumed to be mildly socialist), was elected to government under the leadership of Michael Manley. Economically the country was in a sound state, politically stable, and internationally respected for its impartiality in the U.N. and its commitment to democracy and individual freedom. The Manley government inherited a Treasury with $157 million net foreign exchange reserves, a tax imposition of only $20 million in 10 years, per capita tax contribution of only 14 percent, gross national debt of only $342 million and debt service charges of only $27 million per annum. True, unemployment was at an undesirable high of 20 percent; but programmes were being instituted to convert a large portion of the unemployed into employables as the society converted from agrarian to mixed-industrial.

In 1974 Michael Manley and Guyana's Forbes Burnham were the personal guests of Fidel Castro, journeying with him to Algeria to the Third World Conference. Upon his return, Manley declared that democratic socialism was to be the nation's new goal. In 1975 he paid an official visit to Cuba, and returned to state publicly that he was committed to go hand in hand with Castro so that Jamaica and Cuba might "share a common destiny."

Hence, the government under his direction proceeded to dismantle the country's previous political, economic and social institutions. Nationalization of industries proceeded at break-neck pace. Prohibitions of private endeavours became the order of the day. The free enterprise system was to be wiped out. Minimum wages were introduced, and taxation mounted as government sought to buy popularity amongst various groups of party cadres employed to carry out the plans and realize the ambitions of creating a socialist utopia.

By 1976 Jamaica, by all admission, had become a bankrupt country. Net foreign exchange was reversed to a deficit of over $150 million. Government expenditure rose from $627 million in 1971 to $1.5 billion resulting in a revenue deficit of $556 million. Tax imposition has grown by an increase of $180 million or 44 percent per capita. Debt service charges have spiralled to $117 million per annum.

Chaos in the economy led to widespread reduction in business activity, due to firms going bankrupt. Inflation is uncontrollable at a present rate of nearly 25 percent. Unemployment now stands at 35 percent—or 45 percent if 60,000 high school graduates now forced into mandatory National Youth Service are counted in those figures.

In 1974 gun control laws were passed, virtually banning possession of firearms by the citizenry. A Gun Court of singular significance was created, in which acts committed under the Gun Control Law are tried "in camera" with mandatory life imprisonment as the sentence. Thus began the programme of abridgement of individual rights. By late 1974 it was made mandatory for Jamaican citizens to declare their foreign assets to the government.

Public outcry and the weight of objection disturbed the government. This was exacerbated by the misery of a declining economy and rising unemployment. The Opposition was poised for a successful campaign. Then, in June 1976, the government invoked a "State of Emergency," removing all the rights of the citizens, clamping a rein on the media and on open criticism, and striking terror in the population by placing nearly 600, mostly members of the Opposition, into military detention. The majority have not been charged with any offence. The handful brought to trial have been found guilty of misdemeanours. Nearly 400 are still being held. Eleven have been exiled, and a number of them placed under

house arrest or restrictive movement. In this atmosphere the government found it timely to hold general elections.

Wholesale gerrymandering and other blatant breaches of fair election practices resulted in the socialists' re-election by a wide margin last December. The new government has since circumvented Parliamentary process by pretending to practice democracy, but in fact has followed the Russian model by setting up a Council of Ministers, meaning Cabinet Members and Party Officials, vested with the power to formulate policies and administer the government. Parliament is now a mere archival institution. Michael Manley has, in addition, advised of the creation of a people's militia of 20,000 of which 10,000 have already been recruited and trained.

Today, Jamaican society is a ghost of its former self. Bands of youthful government supporters storm the towns and countryside, wreaking havoc and spreading terror against those who would object to incursions on their rights and property. They capture property in the name of the Socialist Revolution. Satraps and high officials alike shout anti-American slogans and deface empty walls with "Yankee, go home." The real enemies being themselves, they slaughter supporters of the opposition party, sometimes more than 30 per week in Kingston. Hate is the language of the militant young members of the Socialist League, youth arm of the People's National Party, and racism and classism are preached to fire the war-cry for destruction of individuality.

The rule of law has become a mockery. Specially trained members of the police force are now subject to orders from politicians within the government, and lead assaults against citizens rather than defending them. Even judges are being countermanded by members of this special force.

Tens of thousands of Jamaicans have fled this terror to refuge in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere, adding to the tragedy by taking a great deal of the skill, expertise, entrepreneurship, and professionalism that combined to create what was a prosperous nation in the budding.

Supporting this wholesale conversion to socialism has been a contingent of Cuban operatives within the island, numbering in the thousands. Recently the Russians have begun to move in and the programme for total socialization is to be concluded in 1977. Hundreds of Jamaicans are being trained in Guyana, Cuba, and the Soviet Union, and there is open consorting between Burnham of Guyana, Torrijos of Panama, Castro of Cuba and Manley of Jamaica.

The conversion of 4500 square miles and 2.5 million people within 600 miles of the United States to Marxist, socialist communism might not seem personally alarming to Americans. But consider this. Passing the control of the present major source of U.S. aluminium supplies to those who strive to join hands across the Atlantic through Africa to Eastern Europe in the name of universal Marxism and socialism should be cause for concern and closer scrutiny. ◧

(The author of this special report, a Jamaican, has asked that his name be withheld to protect the safety of himself and his family.)

washington watch

Public Financing of Elections

Hearings and House action on public (read, "taxpayer") financing of Congressional elections is scheduled for August and September. This is slated as a priority objective by Common Cause, so legislators will be getting plenty of mail in favor of this subsidy for politicians. Letters in opposition to your own Congressmen and to Rep. Frank Thompson (D-NJ), the Chairman of the House Administration Committee, will be especially helpful.

A filibuster in the Senate is likely, led by veteran Sen. James Allen of Alabama. The bill numbers are H.R. 5157 in the House and S. 926 in the Senate (U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515; U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510).

Airline Regulatory Reform (cont.)

By the time this is printed the battle in the Senate may be almost over. If it is still continuing, letters to Senators will be important. But the field may have shifted to the House. Key players there include Rep. Glenn Anderson (D-CA), chairman of the House Aviation Subcommittee, who is committed to some kind of reform but may need some bolstering against airline and union pressure.

For an update and information on airline regulatory reform, you might write to the Ad Hoc Committee on Airline Regulatory Reform, P.O. Box 19029, Washington, DC 20036.

The Senate bill is likely to be far short of libertarian hopes, but still an important first step. It is significant that, in talking to other members of the Ad Hoc Committee I find considerable sentiment for keeping it together and going after the Interstate Commerce Commission if any success is achieved in the airline field.

Regulatory Reform (General)

The sentiment for regulatory reform is still growing. The Senate has passed a bill (S. 1534), telling the Interstate Commerce Commission to review and recommend changes in its regulations and procedures. It's only the first of a series of bills mandating internal reform in agencies which are likely to pass the Senate. Others are S. 1532 (Federal Maritime Commission), S. 1533 (Federal Trade Commission), S. 1535 (Federal Power Commission and Consumer Product Safety Commission), S. 1536 (Federal Communications Commission) and S. 1537 (Civil Aeronautics Board). Letters to the House urging support of this package would be helpful.

Meanwhile the Senate is making progress on an even more interesting piece of reform legislation, S. 600. This bill, introduced by Percy, Robert Byrd and Abraham Ribicoff, would establish a timetable for Congress and the Executive to review all regulatory agencies over the next eight years. Each two-year session of Congress would be required to review a group of agencies. If reform were not enacted by August of the second year the agencies affected would lose their power to write new regulations. If no reform legislation were passed by October, they would lose power to enforce existing regulations. And if no new law were passed by the end of the year, they would go *out of business.*

Needless to say, this "sunset" provision is causing consternation among agencies. But the bill seems to have a chance of serious consideration, and its chief sponsors are strongly committed to the "sunset" aspect.

Saccharin Progress

Contrary to my doomsday predictions, the Congress has banned the FDA's ban on saccharin for two years. Our job has just begun, however. If we don't keep up the pressure the bureaucratic inertia will win out.

Two proposals may have some chance of passage. One is repeal of the so-called "Delaney Clause," which mandates the banning of any substance found to cause cancer in any animals. The other is Steve Symms' Medical Freedom of Choice Bill (H.R. 54) which would delete the "effectiveness" provisions of the 1962 Amendments to the FDA Act, requiring only that new drugs and substances be shown to be safe and leaving the decision about effectiveness up to doctors and consumers. This bill has over 100 House co-sponsors and could probably use some support in the form of letters from home.

Opposition to Compulsory Service

Preliminary organization is underway in Washington for a coalition to oppose compulsory national service, whether for military or social service purposes. Those expressing interest include libertarians, some conservatives, some Ripon-type Republicans and representatives of conscientious objector groups. For more information, you may write to Libertarian Advocate (P.O. Box 3117, Falls Church, VA 22043). A devastating critique of the advocates of a new draft is to be found in the June, 1977 issue of *The Reporter*, published by the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors (550 Washington, Bldg., 15th St. & New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20005).

Gold Clause Ammendment Likely

Sen. Jesse Helms, who came close to getting legislation passed last year which would have allowed Americans to write commercial and personal contracts specifying payment in gold, will try again this year. His staff is now seeking a bill on which to tack the proposal as an amendment from the Senate floor (Senate amendments are not required to be germane to the legislation under consideration). The prognosis, once a vehicle is selected, appears hopeful.

Success of this amendment may depend on the perception of most Senators that this is a minor reform which only follows logically from the recent legalization of gold ownership rather than a revolutionary undermining of the paper money system. You might keep that in mind when writing to Senators and Representatives in support of this legislation.

Alan Bock

spotlight

Changing the Media

When historians look back at the history of network television news, they may someday note the remarkable outpouring of critical analysis of its performance that appeared in the 1970s. Numerous university studies, independent research projects, and watchdog groups have arisen in this decade to monitor news programs for distortion and bias.

The woman who pioneered the field is Edith Efron, a New Yorker whose articles and books raised consciousness about the techniques used to load programming with a mainstream liberal viewpoint. Since the publication of *The News Twisters* in 1971—the first study to document the short shrift given to free enterprise and non-liberal points of view in general—Efron has become an increasingly visible spokeswoman for freedom in the pages of major intellectual and popular journals.

From the beginning of her career, Efron showed evidence of a keen intellect and a command of communications. She graduated from Barnard College in 1942, finding work with some small town newspapers. On the basis of her writing skill, she was one of a handful of women chosen to enter the Columbia Journalism School, the most highly regarded journalism school in the country.

After gaining her Master's degree there in 1944, Efron became the first woman writer for the New York Times Sunday Magazine. She moved on to work for eight years for *Time* and *Life* magazines in Central America, then as a special editor for *Look* magazine, and finally as an interviewer for Mike Wallace at ABC.

It was as a result of the Wallace job that Efron first became aware of an intellectually respectable alternative to the liberal beliefs with which she had been

Edith Efron

bred. "I began as an absolutely standard New York liberal product of Columbia University," she says. Her stint in Central America began to corrode her "liberal truths," as she understood for the first time that production had to precede consumption for societies to prosper. But not until 1958, when she interviewed Ayn Rand for Mike Wallace, did a consistent political alternative become clear.

Efron was intrigued by what she heard. "Ayn Rand introduced me to Alan Greenspan," she recalls. "And in one evening, Alan changed my politics. I then read Hazlitt and von Mises. For the first time, I understood economics—it did confirm my experience." For the next three or four years, Efron became close to the Ayn Rand circle, drifting apart afterwards because of what she perceived to be unhealthy personal relations among members of the group.

"I was very torn because I valued Ayn Rand for many things," Efron says of the period. "A year before Ayn Rand's break with [Nathaniel] Branden, she came to understand how profoundly I did not like her. She is a tragic figure, who had had crucial things to tell people, things the world had to know." Rand's confusions in the realm of morality and psychology led Efron to conclude, as have many other past associates, that Rand has been destructive to her own cause.

Efron nonetheless remained convinced of the merits of capitalism and minimal government. When she took a staff position with *TV Guide*, the most widely read weekly magazine in the country, she began writing articles on such subjects as FCC regulation of the airwaves.

Her major impact on the industry came as a result of research starting in 1968. Efron had noted with unease the use of virtually propagandistic techniques in network coverage of controversial subjects. Concentrating on news treatments by television of the 1968 presidential election issues, she found overwhelming evidence that the air time given to spokesmen for the "liberal" side outweighed those for the opposition by a staggering amount.

Three years of research and documentation preceded release of *The News Twisters* in 1971. The book quickly went into several printings, eventually selling 30,000 copies in hardback. It created an uproar in the broadcast industry; NBC assigned individuals to tape her numerous lectures around the country, hoping to reveal her as a clear and present threat to the First Amendment. CBS assembled a biting, but inaccurate, rebuttal, which Efron used as a springboard for her subsequent book, *How CBS Tried To Kill a Book.*

Efron's struggle against the counterattacks of the networks was a trying one. None of her sympathizers in the industry stepped forward publicly to defend her. "For a couple of years, I was defending my work and my professional existence," she remembers. Ultimately, after monitoring her public statements, network officials realized that Efron did not advocating coercively controlling the media. Academic institutions—and even the networks themselves—began content analyses and bias studies of programming on their own.

In response to the deluge of analyses triggered by *The News Twisters*, and the prevailing uncertainty of liberals today on positions they once held without question, Efron notes that network news has become considerably more balanced. "There has come to be a more conscious awareness of the problems of journalism," she says—the outstanding exception being treatment of consumer and environmental issues.

Of greatest concern to Efron now are increasing curbs on business production, and the assault on science and technology. "It has been doing incredible damage," Efron says. She has just finished assisting former Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon, in a book on politics and the economy (to be released in 1978 by Readers Digest/Crowell Press). Besides regularly contributing to the News Watch column of *TV Guide*, she has recently written for publications ranging from *Commentary* and *Reason* to *Barron's*.

In the future, Efron intends to keep writing—and then "sleeping off"—books on such subjects as governmental stifling of jobs and productivity, the assault on reason, and the degeneration of culture. She hopes in the meantime to see libertarians become less "culturally rudderless," by gaining an appreciation for values of civilization beyond the merely political ones. Because libertarians often lack a broad world outlook, Efron is concerned that they are falling by default into the hands of the New Left. "No responsible person will take them seriously," she says, if libertarians continue to associate with persons such as Timothy Leary.

Efron also deplores the failure of conservatives to provide an influential intellectual defense of capitalism, despite their concern with the quality of civilization as a whole. "Many of the conservatives are on the level of Anita Bryant, which damages their capacity to provide intellectual leadership," she says. "Thus the two sources of capitalist thinking are desperately weak." If communicating libertarian values is to succeed, it will owe much to the efforts of Efron and others who argue articulately and effectively for the values of a free society. ◻

books

Triton

by Samuel R. Delany
New York: Bantam Books. 1976. 369 pp.
$1.95 (paper)

Reviewed by Jeff Riggenbach

"They're always telling on the news about all those hundreds of political parties you have on each satellite, out where you guys are from."

"There're not hundreds," Sam said, sipping his broth. "Only about thirty to thirty-seven, depending on which satellite you're on."

"And when you have an election, none of them ever wins?"

Bron watched Sam decide to laugh. "No. They all win. You're governed for the term by the governor of whichever party you vote for. They all serve office simultaneously. And you get the various benefits of the platform your party has been running on. It makes for competition between the parties, which, in our sort of system, is both individuating and stabilizing."

This exchange is from Samuel R. Delany's *Triton*, and if it isn't sufficient to indicate the explicitly libertarian thrust of the novel, consider this:

Charo turned her chin on her fist: "Well, we were brought up to think of taxes as simply a matter of extortion by the biggest crooks who happen to live nearest to you. Even if they turn around and say, all right, we'll spend the money on things you can use, like an army or roads, that just turns it into glorified protection money, as far as we're concerned."

And this:

At the corner, he turned toward the unlicensed sector.

At founding, each Outer Satellite city had set aside a city sector where no law officially held—since, as the Mars sociologist who first advocated it had pointed out, most cities develop, of necessity, such neighborhoods anyway. These sectors fulfilled a complex range of functions in the cities' psychological, political, and economic ecology. Problems a few conservative, Earthbound thinkers feared must come, didn't: the interface between official law and official lawlessness produced some remarkably stable unofficial laws throughout the no-law sector. Minor criminals were not likely to retreat there: enforcement agents could enter the u-l sector as could anyone else; and in the u-l there were no legal curbs on apprehension methods, use of weapons, or technological battery. Those major criminals whose crimes—through the contractual freedom of the place—existed mainly on paper, found it convenient, while there, to keep life on the streets fairly safe and minor crimes at a minimum.

Actually, finding libertarian ideas in Delany's fiction should come as little surprise. His 1975 novel, *Dhalgren*, though principally concerned with the transformative nature of human consciousness—the symbols and myths we live by—depicts a kind of functioning anarchistic society and explores with considerable subtlety the social glue that holds it together. But it is unlikely that many libertarians have read *Dhalgren*: Delany is, after all, associated in the popular mind with the so-called New Wave in science fiction; and libertarians, most of them, have yet to discover that New Wave writing is, in its essence, more individualistic and more sympathetic to the ideal of freedom than is traditional science fiction.

Moreover, Delany's approach to fictive social philosophy is unusual and therefore easy to overlook. He doesn't stick to the obvious formula of Human Beings against the State and simply flesh it out

with different characters and events—the method of composition that results in such monotonously predictable novels of individualism as *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* and *This Perfect Day* and *The Dispossessed.* Delany works differently. He places his characters in social situations and then removes government or changes it radically, observing what remains and what vanishes of social cohesion—and why. He posits social systems that have never existed and in some cases probably couldn't, because they rest on erroneous notions of economics or freak combinations of circumstances. But they are systems that cast into clear fictional relief certain important and not often discussed cultural and political issues. Delany, in brief, is less obviously and accessibly individualistic, less obviously and accessibly libertarian, than many: but he is more originally and more philosophically so.

Triton is one of Neptune's two satellites, both in the real world and in the imaginary world of Delany's novel. In the real world, it is, as far as we know, uninhabited. In the imaginary world of Delany's novel, it is inhabited by human beings and organized according to political principles drawn almost equally from welfare statism and individualist anarchism. Outside the u-l in every city, money is illegal and everything is provided by the government(s).

There's a computer, you see, and terminals everywhere, and if you work, the wealth you produce is credited to your account; and if you claim food, shelter, clothing, or other goods or services, your "purchases" are charged to your account. You don't have to work if you don't want to, of course: you can't, under law, be denied food and shelter; but you can be denied anything else you can't "pay" for. The computer's books balance more of the time than not, though, and only a tiny fraction of the population is perpetually on welfare.

Everyone lives in cooperative dormitories of the sort found nowadays near college campuses, which tends to limit accumulation of personal property. But this doesn't mean everyone lives in equal austerity, as, for example, on Ursula LeGuin's Anarres. Nor does it mean everyone participates under duress. There are rich and poor. Both choose their leaders democratically in the anarcho-capitalistic fashion described earlier. And both are always free to live in the u-l if they prefer, where everything is legal.

Everything is legal outside the u-l, too, of course, as long as it isn't marriage or scrip, though the reasons for these prohibitions are never made clear. Whether they are violated in the unlicensed sector—and, if so, with what consequences—is never specified. The economic elements of Delany's imaginary society are the least fully presented. They are hardly sketched beyond my own discussion of them here. But if they are neglected, it is only to direct attention to a sort of personal freedom almost invariably neglected by self-confessed libertarian commentators—freedom of lifestyle, of personality, of self-expression.

This is, after all, the end in view of which the libertarian critique of the State is undertaken. It is not freedom from restraint that the libertarian seeks as an end in itself; it is freedom to be the person he or she is. But one can no more be one's self while remaining ignorant of one's self than one can be a philosopher while remaining ignorant of philosophy. And one can no more conceive one's self, while forbidden to use the symbolic mode we call personality than one can conceive philosophical ideas while forbidden to use the symbolic mode we call language. An individual must be free to express and thus to know himself—else how can he know how he wishes to use his economic freedom, his freedom of *social* action?

On Triton, technology has made freedom of self-expression as complete in practice as it can be in principle. If you don't like being a man, for example, you can become a woman. And if you don't find *that* satisfactory after a while, you can become a man again. You can be homosexual or heterosexual or bisexual at will. You can be black, or white—any color at all. You can wear anything you like—or nothing if you like. You can replace parts of yourself with decorative contrivances—a golden arc, say, set in the skin where an eyebrow grew. You can sell your body—do it professionally, openly—and "society" won't care, as it won't care if you join a fanatic religious cult and wander through the streets, blinded, naked, mumbling, mutilating yourself. On Triton, "the subjective reality of each citizen is made as politically inviolable as possible."

The conventional novel of social philosophy, if it had gone this far, would proceed from here to investigate how satisfactory such an arrangement might prove—how successfully it might facilitate each individual's reaping of the benefits of social living (information and trade) while escaping the mal-effects (chiefly predation). But the conventional novel of social philosophy would go no farther. It would not, as Delany's *Triton* triumphantly does, elaborate its ideas upon a framework of parody.

Parody, like libertarianism, has turned up in Delany's work before. His award-winning short story "Aye, and Gomorrah" (written at the annual science-fiction writers' conference at Milford, PA), is an exquisite parody of the science, fiction world, in which perverts called "frelks" (science-fiction fans) fawn disgustingly over disreputable sensationalists called "spacers" (science-fiction writers), and occasional "straight" interlopers who impersonate spacers in order to pick up frelks ("mainstream" writers who try science fiction—Michael Crichton, for example, in *The Andromeda Strain*) are beaten in alleys (subjected to verbal abuse by the critics and reviewers of science-fictiondom). Parody in "Aye, and Gomorrah" is only implicit, though, and often missed. In *Triton* it is explicit by the time one reads the subtitle: "An ambiguous heterotopia."

Ursula K. LeGuin's *The Dispossessed*, published in 1974, is subtitled "An Ambiguous Utopia." It treats of Shevek, a physicist, who lives on a moon called Anarres, where a communist anarchist experiment has survived, albeit austerely, for a century and a half. Shevek pays a visit to his moon's planet, where a corporate State holds sway and State policy toward Anarres stops just short of war. He becomes, unwittingly and unwillingly, involved in the mother planet's political intrigues, then returns home to an uncertain reception.

Triton treats of Bron Helstrom, a mathematician, who pays a visit to his moon-world's State-dominated mother planet (Earth, not Neptune, the latter being uninhabitable, the former being the world from which Triton's people—or their ancestors—emigrated). He becomes unwittingly and unwillingly involved in political intrigues, then returns home to an atmosphere of anxiety and a devastating few minutes of war with Earth.

But read past *Triton*'s subtitle and past its plot, into its world: Ursula LeGuin fades, and Alfred Bester comes gradually to mind. Delany's politico-economic division of the solar system into inner planets and outer satellites is right out of Bester's *Tiger! Tiger!*, as is the war between those blocs and a whole narrative flavor made up in part of exotic settings (like Outer Mongolia and Canberra and Shanghai), violent events (like kidnappings and explosions and tortures and wars and prison breaks), and outre, decadent cultures (both *Triton* and *Tiger! Tiger!* are set in them, as are Bester's *The Demolished Man* and Delany's *Dhalgren*). There's even an outright reference to *Tiger! Tiger!* in the selections "from the *Triton* journal" appended to the novel, and Delany has suggested (in his essay "About Five Thousand One Hundred and Seventy-five Words," *Extrapolation*, May 1969)

that *Tiger! Tiger!* is the finest science-fiction novel ever written.

But if Bron Helstrom moves through a world mockingly reminiscent of *The Dispossessed* and *Tiger! Tiger!*, if in his actions he is mockingly reminiscent of Shevek, in his character he is different entirely from either the Anarresti physicist or Gully Foyle of *Tiger! Tiger!*. It is precisely by placing a radically different sort of character at the center of a more or less familiar fictive context that Delany at once underscores his parody of LeGuin and Bester and makes his own more fundamental point about social organization.

Unlike Shevek the dispassionate scientist and Foyle the impassioned proto-Superman, Bron Helstrom suffers from the narrow self-absorption that is the lot of the discontented. He is unable to see importance in anything outside himself and so diminishes the important events that befall him. He dines in Outer Mongolia at a restaurant whose tables dot the sides of a green, rocky hill, sharing his meal with a beautiful woman who happens also to be one of the greatest artists of her era—and spends the entire evening worrying over the impression he makes on the servants who attend him. He travels across the solar system, enjoys the full range of individual freedom available to him (including, after his return from Earth, an operation to become a woman)—and spends the whole time feeling picked on. When he wants something, it's the only thing in the world that'll put him out of his misery; when he gets it, he doesn't want it anymore. "I'd take a look at my own self in the mirror," says Chief Broom in Ken Kesey's *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, "and wonder how it was possible that anybody could manage such an enormous thing as being what he was." When Bron Helstrom stops off in an "ego booster" booth to look at three minutes of the latest official videotapes made of his self, the booth is out of order.

Bron Helstrom cannot be himself, cannot even see himself, because—and this is the point toward which the parody in *Triton* is gesturing so determinedly—no social system, no amount of personal freedom, can *guarantee* self-realization. Through *The Dispossessed*, through *Tiger! Tiger!*, through much libertarian writing, runs an implicit faith that humans, given free will, can do whatever circumstances demand—create workable anarchistic societies, for example, or bend inanimate matter to direct control of the mind. But what, Delany wonders, when no preference informs the will? When an individual does not know what he is or wants? What is the anatomy of a purposive, of a passive, personality? It is this intellectually perilous, language-defying region of thought that Delany makes—bringing greater virtuosity to his work than any of his contemporaries on either side of the Atlantic—the material of fiction. ◻

Jeff Riggenbach is an announcer and book reviewer for the Los Angeles news station KFWB.

Introduction to Philosophical Inquiries

By Tibor R. Machan.
Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1977.
365 pp. $8.95 (pb).

Tibor Machan has written an introduction to philosophy that is both approachable and philosophically substantial. Perhaps only those who have tried to teach introductory courses in philosophy can know what an achievement this is. Unlike many of its best competitors, this book really is an *introduction* to its subject. Professor Machan makes no assumptions about his reader, except that he has a certain measure of intelligence and can understand theories. He does not assume that the reader knows what philosophy is, nor that he is already interested in any of the topics treated within it.

The book covers an enormous range of subjects in relatively little space, economically, and at times with elegance. There are chapters on metaphysics, epistemology, philosophy of logic (an unusual subject for an introductory text, but an important one), and ethics. There is a long chapter on political philosophy. Unlike perhaps any other introduction to philosophy, this one gives a substantial amount of attention to libertarianism and anarchism and discusses several versions of these ideas seriously and fairly.

Perhaps the most distinctive parts of the book are the first chapter and the epilogue, which explain what philosophy is and defend its importance. Here we find that Machan's attitude toward philosophy is a rather peculiar one in today's context: he believes that philosophy is valuable *practically*, because it seeks the truth about matters of absolute importance. "Philosophy is not an idle game for the clever," nor is it a series of mind-building mental exercises. It is "essentially serious." Metaphysics is about the nature of reality, epistemology is about the nature of knowledge (not just: whether there ever is such a thing), ethics is about how we should live, political philosophy is about how communities should be organized. Since these matters touch all of us, everyone should familiarize himself with philosophy to some extent. It is not a luxury or an amusement for the few. In the epilogue the author argues convincingly that, although it is quite possible that all philosophical theories will always be controversial, there is reason to hope that by thinking about them we can find the truth about these important subjects.

The style of the book is perfectly in harmony with the point of view it represents: although it is simple and straightforward and creates no unnecessary difficulties for the beginner, it has none of the breezy hipsterism of so many introductions to philosophy. The reader is not allowed to forget that, although philosophy is interesting, it *is* serious.

Considerable stress is given to argumentation. Professor Machan does not regard philosophical theories merely as a series of "isms" that should be mastered as a part of one's liberal education. His primary aim is always to aid us in deciding, rationally, which positions are true. He carefully shows the plausibility of each one, as well as the difficulties each

Coming Next Month:

REASON's October issue leads off with Eugene Guccione's eye-opening expose of the Federal government's de-facto nationalization of American mineral resources. Jimmy Carter says coal will save us, but Guccione shows that although the coal is there, it can't be mined! Prof. P. T. Bauer of the London School of Economics shows why foreign aid has not worked, and why it *cannot* succeed in bringing about the development of Third World countries. Jeffrey St. John, who once wanted to become an M.D. but ended up a writer and columnist, explains how medicine is now being practiced by a new breed—the Washington witch doctor. Also included: articles on land use controls, water rights, and self-awareness. Plus Alan Reynolds' Viewpoint, Davis Keeler's Money column, and Dennis Turner's no-nonsense review of two recent books on coping with price controls.

one inevitably encounters. This is true of the theories he himself believes. We are led through a maze of ideas by a competent guide with a clear idea of where he is directing us.

I recommend *Introduction to Philosophical Inquiries* to anyone who wants to know what philosophy is and why some people take it so seriously. I might add that I have used it in teaching a freshman course in philosophy, and the students found it interesting and understandable.

Lester Hunt

movies

Providence • Small Change • Distant Thunder

• If you don't mind:

(1) a story in which it isn't always clear what is fantasy and what is reality,

(2) a plot in which time-frames are warped, so that a person may be shot to death in one scene and reappear alive and well in the next,

(3) a plot that becomes more heavily imbued with Freudian symbolism the longer one reflects on it (very subtle—none of the usual hackneyed stuff),

(4) a plot in which numerous loose ends are never tied together (and that this seems quite purposeful, either "I'll leave you to figure out the rest," or "It's more interesting if all the pieces aren't put together explicitly, but left to you"),

(5) scenes which are too much for some viewers, presented in a matter-of-fact way, e.g. a human cadaver being ripped open from the throat to the intestines,

(6) actors you have watched for years in rather elegant roles spewing out four-letter words for the first time in their film careers,

(7) a sense of life quite opposed to what most pro-life viewers prefer, one in which mutual hatred, envy, cynicism and similar qualities predominate,

(8) constant preoccupation with death, not in the abstract but the physical process of protracted dying, presented mercilessly and leaving no illusions,

—then you are likely to enjoy **PROVIDENCE** very much, for it is one of the best directed, acted, and written films (especially the last) to come down the pike in a long time. Any film directed by Alan Resnais is bound to be interesting: *Hiroshima Mon Amour* was a moving document, *Stavisky* was elegant but empty, and *Last Year in Marienbad* was so difficult to follow that it was quite unintelligible to most viewers, but did repay seeing a second and third time if one took the trouble. In this film, his first one in English, Resnais is at the peak of his power. The film does not have the opaqueness of *Marienbad,* and for the script and acting alone it is a joy to watch. The script is in fact so literate (and sometimes literary) that not one viewer out of a hundred will probably understand it all; some references, for example, can't be understood unless one is steeped in Shakespeare. It is a film that challenges rather than insults the intelligence and ingenuity of a college graduate, or for that matter a Ph.D.

It does not appeal primarily to the emotions; there is much emotional strong stuff in the film, but one is so busy figuring out how the pieces of the puzzle relate to each other that one has no leisure to be moved. One must keep all his senses alert for every clue, however subtle and momentary, yet at the same time be prepared to savor every delicious detail, wishing that at least one movie out of a hundred would exhibit such intelligence and subtlety.

The script by David Mercer is one of the finest in years, and the acting is faultless: seasoned actors such as John Geilgud, Dirk Bogarde, David Warner, Ellen Burstyn, and Elaine Stritch have never been better. One should try to absorb the true greatness of these performances (especially that of Gielgud as the dying man) while attempting not to distract one's attention even for a moment from the detailed sleuthing challenge that the film presents.

As a relief from the ordinary run of films, this one comes as a total contrast (and a surprise to those who have not seen Resnais films before). That it may not correspond with one's own sense of life, or one's preferred theory of plot-construction, may in the end be a small consideration when balanced against the fact that we have here a picture that challenges us totally, and haunts us long after we have seen it. It simply won't let us go, and we are driven to dwell on its possible implications again and again. The list of other films of the last five years of which the same could be said would be a very short one.

—John Hospers

• Any film directed by Francois Truffaut is a delight to see, and **SMALL CHANGE** is all about children, whose natures and foibles Truffaut has a special talent for bringing to life on the screen. His great film *The 400 Blows* was a masterpiece of humor, pathos, and child psychology. No director has been better at the difficult task of revealing to an audience the world seen from the point of view of a child.

This film is not as good as *The 400 Blows*, but it is still very much worth seeing. Aside from the kindly and perceptive schoolteacher, all the main characters are schoolchildren—learning and playing, telling dirty stories, dating for the first time and trying to find the best way to kiss, and in constantly interesting ways interacting with each other. By the time the film is over we have come to know a whole classroomful of them rather intimately. Though the film is everywhere interlaced with humor, it is not always funny: the new arrival at school will tell no one where he lives (an abandoned shack), teaches others to steal, and one day during a period medical exam when he refuses to undress, it turns out that his body is scarred from beatings and burns administered on those days when he failed to steal enough to satisfy his adopted parents. It is all done with great elan and empathy. The picture of children growing up that is presented by this and other French films is so much truer than what one gets from most American films that one wonders why so few of the insights of French directors and writers have rubbed off on their American counterparts.

—J.H.

• The films of India's foremost director, Satyajit Ray, are always rewarding—for their stunning visual beauty, the lovely Indian music on the soundtrack, the slowly building but always sure and penetrating human characterizations, the intimate details of Indian village life, the exquisite mixture of humor and pathos, and the triumph of the human spirit in the face of such grinding poverty as few Americans are able to imagine. Ray's trilogy *Aparajito* some years ago was a film classic acclaimed round the world. The first film in the trilogy, *Pather Panchali*, was hailed (with justification, I think) as one of the 20 or so greatest films made since the invention of talking pictures.

His latest film, **DISTANT THUNDER**, is not in the same class with *Pather Panchali*, but it has the same stroke of the master. The chief difference lies not in the artistry but in the subject matter, which may be too depressing for some viewers. The film deals with the widespread famine and starvation in Madras in 1943-4, when World War II kept most of the world from hearing much about it. Gradually and inexorably we see life reduced to its most elemental; at first we are introduced to kindly and generous people, and bit by bit we see people (but far from all of them) stealing from their dearest friends for a scrap of rice; a proud and loyal wife prostituting herself to a grotesquely deformed man in order to fend off starvation; a young girl fainting in a roadway after six days without food, a lady giving the last of her own food to her, and a village boy waiting behind the trees and then snatching the food from her dying hands. When an old man from another village, whom the main character (a schoolteacher) and his wife have befriended with food earlier in the film, appears again on the scene with 10 hungry dependents, the camera multiplies the images of the starving family into hundreds and then thousands, and we are told then (at the very end) that more than five million people died in that famine.

The film is, among other things, an exercise in free-enterprise economics: perhaps purposefully, since the film titles refer to "the man-made famine of 1943." Example: when through inflation the price of rice rises from six rupees to eight and 10 and finally 1000, some villagers accuse the local groceryman of hoarding; they tie him up, beat him, and raid his store, only to find out that there is nothing there.

But the delicate human touches, the great human sympathy, the details of individual characterization, the cumulative power, are all there, and they make the film all the more heart-rending. In the end, the bitterness one feels about men's ignorance of elementary economic principles, one's indignation at superstition and economic planning, and one's deep regret and hurt that suffering on such a massive scale occurs in human history, are tempered by one's affectionate and abiding memory of the earlier life of the villagers, who one by one, each in his or her individual way, become dehumanized by starvation, and finally succumb to it.

—J.H.

publisher's notes

• REACHING OUT

Looking for like minded people on campus? In coming months, the Young Libertarian Alliance—the highly effective student arm of the Libertarian Party—will be conducting a publicity blitz at colleges around the country. You can play a part in raising the consciousness of non-libertarians at your college or university and discovering kindred spirits, by helping to distribute YLA materials. The Washington headquarters of the organization has raised the funds necessary to print one million tabloids introducing libertarianism as a vibrant, fresh alternative to liberalism and conservatisim. Should you have a spare afternoon or two to help spread the word, the YLA would like to hear from you. Contact Bob Meier, YLA, 1516 P Street NW, Washington, DC 20005, or call (202) 232-2003.

• REASON INTERNSHIPS

One of the most serious obstacles facing libertarians is the lack of free-market oriented individuals in the media. Thanks to a contribution from the Second Libertarian Church of San Francisco, REASON is proud to announce the opening of a journalism internship for Naomi Geschwind. Geschwind, an undergraduate at Vassar and an activist in the Young Libertarian Alliance, is spending the summer at the REASON offices in Santa Barbara, gaining experience in editing and writing for the magazine. We hope that her contributions this summer inaugurate a prolific career in journalism.

REASON receives from time to time letters from promising young people interested in coming to Santa Barbara to gain journalistic skills. In return for minimal living expenses—as little as $80 a week—these individuals are able to provide welcome assistance in the production of the magazine, while improving their career prospects in the communications field. REASON invites inquiries from anyone who would consider making more of our internships available.

• LGC UPDATE

The Local Government Center, organized by REASON editors Robert Poole and Mark Frazier, continues to report progress. President Robert Poole's monthly Fiscal Watchdog newspaper column now appears in 142 newspapers across the country. Executive Director Mark Frazier has been commissioned by *Reader's Digest* to write an article on tax-saving innovations in local government. LGC has recently received seed money to prepare a detailed information kit for newly incorporating cities, outlining ways of privatizing public services and utilizing other methods to keep taxes low. The Center has received its first consulting contract, to make an efficiency study of a county sheriff's department, and is receiving inquiries from cities and counties across the nation. Consultants with experience in local public services are still needed; if interested and qualified, send your resume to Local Government Center, 221 West Carrillo St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

• ATTENTION LEGISLATORS

REASON readers who have previously served or are presently serving in state or Federal legislative bodies should be aware of a new project. Robert Bakhaus, legislative aide to Louisiana state representative Woody Jenkins, is organizing an informal association of such persons and their aides, to exchange information and coordinate joint efforts, in an attempt to maximize libertarian influence in legislative circles. Interested persons should contact Bakhaus at P.O. Box 52889, Baton Rouge, LA 70805 or phone (504) 357-4515.

• SUBSCRIBER'S OPTION

For several years REASON has had a practice of renting our subscriber list to selected organizations and companies. We do this mainly to obtain a source of revenue that helps keep REASON subscription rates down, and also to help our readers receive information on events, organizations, products and services we think may be of interest. We carefully review the advertising copy of each mailer before approving the list rental, and we turn down groups whose material seems to us to be antifreedom or otherwise offensive. We would like to remind readers that it is our policy to provide subscribers with the option of having their names kept off lists we rent to others. If you wish to restrict the use of your name in the future, please write us, requesting deletion of your name from our rental list, and enclosing your mailing label. ◻

WHO'S MINDING THE STORE IN WASHINGTON?

He and a million bureaucrats like him are playing fast and loose with your money. Over your career, he plans to take almost half of your life's earnings to spend for himself. He calls it taxes. We call it a rip-off. You can tell him to take his hand out of your pocket. By joining YAF's drive to cut bloat out of government. Help starve a feeding bureaucrat.

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frontlines

Healthful Libertarians

For many years, advocates of the "need" philosophy have included medical services among the list of goodies which everybody is supposed to get for free. There is hardly a better example of "neediness" than health care for the injured and infirm. Indeed, the classic cases—food for the starving, water for the thirsty—are less troublesome to most people. We seldom encounter cases of death from starvation or thirst, but everyone has reason to worry about a traffic accident or a sudden heart attack. Is it a moral imperative to help the "needy"? It has become a political imperative; the potentially needy are a majority.

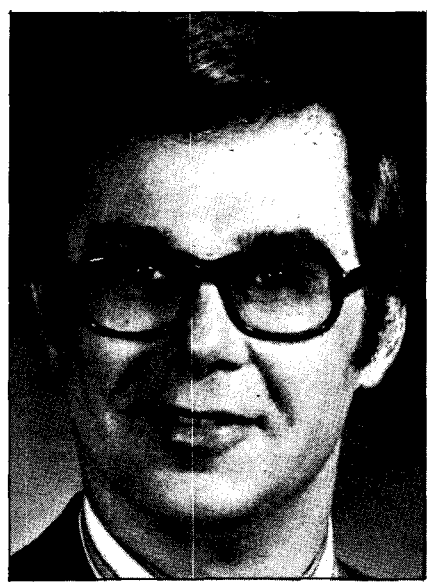
The logical contradictions of the "need" philosophy are causing problems. President Carter has discovered that the various congressional schemes for subsidized medical care will cost such an unbelievable amount that he balks at supporting them. The bureaucrats who administer the current, more limited system of health care subsidies are experimenting with "cost controls." This means, of course, taking control of the incomes and investments of people who provide health care.

In 1974, the National Health Planning Act was passed which established a nationwide network of Health Systems Agencies. These HSA organizations have the power to prevent the building of hospitals, prevent the expenditure of money (private money) by hospitals for new equipment or new facilities, and can even prevent a new physician from starting a practice in a community where there may already be "too many doctors."

In most of the HSA areas around the country, the planners are appointed by local politicians and medical establishment bureaucrats. In the Los Angeles area, an experiment to elect the HSA democratically has been attempted. A complicated scheme for electing a number of producers' representatives, consumers' representatives, and appointing the proper number of ethnic minorities was established. Not everyone would vote, however—just those citizens who signed up as "members" interested in health care planning.

Libertarians in Los Angeles seized the opportunity to sign up as members and try to elect themselves to the HSA. Bill Webster, Chairman of the Libertarian Party of California's Judicial Committee, Linda Rader, L.P.C. activist, and Ed Clark, member of the national L.P. Executive Committee, were instrumental in this drive. Ed Clark was elected. Additional opportunities to elect or appoint other libertarians will occur this year and next, and the opportunity to preserve some measure of a free market process in the L.A. health care community will be worth watching.

Just as wealthy British subjects who need the better health care available outside their National Health scheme must fly to Switerland or the United States, perhaps in 10 years Americans will have to fly to Los Angeles or Hong Kong for some free market medicine. If your local HSA doesn't plan correctly, your doctor will be stuck with the consequences of the mistakes regardless of his personal skills.



Dallas Cooley, M.D.

Earlier this year, the Libertarian Health Association was formed to resist the further progression of government interference in the health care fields. Not limited just to physicians, the LHA intends to provide its members with materials suitable for distribution to patients to motivate them, in their own interests, toward political action against the government.

Chairman of the LHA is S. Dallas Cooley, M.D. of Fairfax, VA. Dr. Cooley was active in the MacBride for President campaign in Virginia and had urged the formation of a "Physicians for MacBride" committee in 1976. The address of the LHA is 8316 Arlington Blvd., Suite 232, Fairfax, VA 22030. With some hard work, the LHA might accomplish at least as much as the General Practitioners' Society in Australia has done to reverse socialized medicine down under, as reported in REASON a few issues back.

In at least one state, Iowa, a local chapter of the LHA has been established by William A. Bockoven, M.D., 505 Fifth Ave., Suite 220, Des Moines, IA 50309. There are others, we think, but not all have sent us mailings.

Iowa is also the home of Dr. R.S. Jaggard, M.D., 10 East Charles St., Oelwein, IA 50662, who publishes a monthly newsletter with notes about private alternatives to government medicine and welfare. Dr. Jaggard is a conscientious objector to the Social Security System. His newsletter is distributed free upon request.

Another organization in opposition to the medical establishment is the Homebirth Education Research Service, publisher of the H.E.R.S. News, Postal Box 108, Gold Run, CA 95719. Jayne M. Joyce is the organizer of H.E.R.S., which has information available to interested persons about delivery and maternity without hospital or doctor requirements. "Decidedly feminist," Jayne Joyce says she is not about to give equal time in the newsletter to the paternalistic "doctor knows best" view.

Joe Cobb

This column is concerned with an analysis of activities on the "frontlines" of the battle of political principles, and with news about people who are active in the struggle. We appreciate news and ideas from readers. Please send materials to Joe Cobb, Box 1776, Chicago, IL 60690 for consideration and use in FRONTLINES.

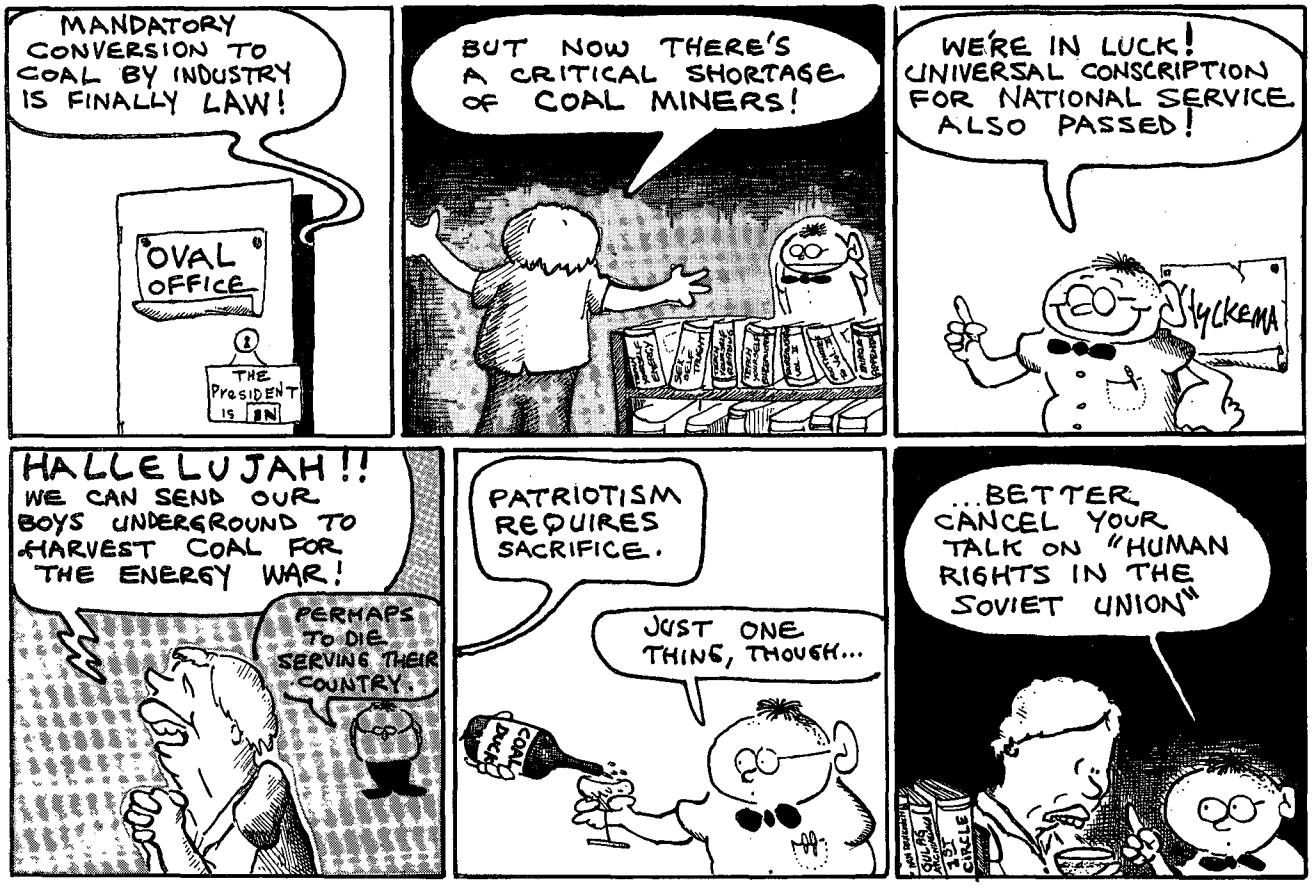
trends

Continued from p. 15.

$5464 per family. On top of this are (1) the cost impact of government regulations, estimated by OMB to be $2000 per family, and (2) lost income attributable to the social security tax system—$1841 per family, according to Harvard economist Martin Feldstein. The resulting $9035 per year works out to $174 per week, a truly remarkable burden. (Source: "New Figures on Cost of Government," NTU press release, March 14, 1977.)

rudebarbs

by Randall K. Hylkema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THE PRESIDENT IS IN
BUT NOW THERE'S A CRITICAL SHORTAGE OF COAL MINERS!
WE'RE IN LUCK! UNIVERSAL CONSCRIPTION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE ALSO PASSED!
HYLKEMA
HALLELUJAH!! WE CAN SEND OUR BOYS UNDERGROUND TO HARVEST COAL FOR THE ENERGY WAR!
PERHAPS TO DIE SERVING THEIR COUNTRY.
PATRIOTISM REQUIRES SACRIFICE.
JUST ONE THING, THOUGH...
COAL DUST
...BETTER CANCEL YOUR TALK ON "HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION"
1ST CIRCLE

letters

Continued from p. 15.

would have long since destroyed everything that would have made the country worth capturing. (Having Switzerland would have greatly facilitated transportation through central Europe, but the Swiss would have destroyed every pass and tunnel through the Alps in the first minutes of an invasion—and still will.) Furthermore, with every male Swiss armed and trained in guerilla tactics, it would have been very costly to hold.

I agree with Mr. Majors that a libertarian government should not base any kind of a military system on conscription. It would be necessary to offer good pay and a good time (the latter especially in the case of a volunteer militia). I would like to propose an additional incentive (for lack of a better word) based on Swiss and other European history: that participation (historically it was the ownership of arms) be a condition of the franchise. Now before everyone gets all upset, please remember that as libertarians we are not necessarily democrats. In a libertarian country the important thing is not who votes, but what is subject to the vote. If the government has no power to violate individual rights, and the citizens are armed, those who cannot or do not vote are in no danger from those who can. I would be interested in hearing reader reaction to this proposal.

Mr. Major's recommendations for the U.S. military under a libertarian government are right on! They are similar in principle to some made in 1975 by Charles Lyall, then Party Leader of the Libertarian Party of Canada. His recommendations were contained in a position paper prepared for the party. This paper was published in the July-August 1975 issue of *Libertarian Option*. Mr. Lyall covers subjects ranging from the theory of why countries get attacked, to the use of nuclear and chemical-biological weapons to the effects on the crime rate of an armed citizenry. Anyone interested should write Libertarian Option, Box 5159 STN. A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1N5 Canada. Cover price is $1.10.

R. W. Gillespie
Edmonton, Alberta

classifieds

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The **POLITICAL ACTION CAUCUS** proudly invites every anti-statist to attend the NORTHWEST RADICAL ANARCHOCAPITALIST CONFERENCE, August 20, 1977, in Seattle at the University Tower Hotel (NE 45th and Brooklyn NE). NWRACC will be divided into a morning session opening with panel discussions and presentations on abortion, sexuality, the family, science, technology, and environment; an afternoon session concentrating on anarchocapitalist philosophy and culture; an evening session

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VERSUS STATE, published by The Political Action Caucus in Washington, focuses on the programmatic development of a radical anarchocapitalist political ideology and related philosophical topics. We know the main task of the libertarian movement must be the abolition of the State but the question is how? VERSUS STATE is written by front-line fighters in the political struggle against the State. Early issues will include: "Using the State to Abolish the State"; "Organizing a Politically Oriented Black Market Underground"; "A Grand Strategy for the North American Struggle"; "Fraud Should Not Be Prohibited!"; and "The Warrior Psychology of the Anarchocapitalist Revolutionary." VERSUS STATE will be issued bi-monthly starting July, 1977. Annual subscriptions are $10.00 and singles $2.00. Make checks payable to the Political Action Caucus, 8314 Mary NW, Seattle, WA 98117 (206) 782-4651. The PAC also invites you to contact our SIG, The People Against Censorship, 314 Vance Building, Seattle, WA 98101, (206) 622-7432.

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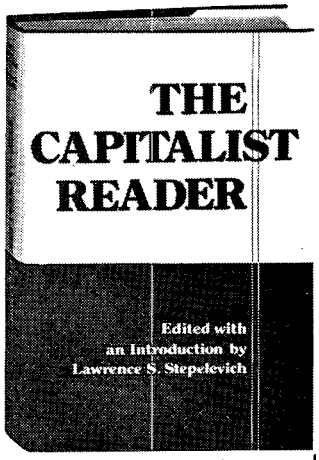

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